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ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS

HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

BY

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INTRODUCTION



EVERY work written by M. Duruy bears the stamp of his peculiar genius. His knowledge of history was immense. But above all in marvellous degree he possessed the faculty, when confronted by a mass of facts, of recognizing the important and essential, and of presenting it in vivid and not easily forgotten language. What sense of perspective is to the artist, that such ability to appreciate and compare is to the real historian. Some histories resemble monotonous plains, which never do more than undulate, where the hills are never high and the valleys are never profound. M. Duruy grasps the great ideas, the great events, the great achievements of the past, and plants them upon his pages like mountain peaks. His narration is like a military parade, each captain stepping out in front of his troop. This fact not only adds interest and charm to his writings, but enhances their value. It furthermore guarantees that the worth of the present volume cannot be measured by its size.

This book begins with the emergence of man from the cradle of the river basins in most remote antiquity. It traces the development of civilization in the Chinese, Indian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, Hebrew, and Persian monarchies. It brings to light whatever was best and most memorable in those distant societies, as well as their weaknesses and the causes of their decline. It sets forth the religions of Confucius, Brahma, Buddha, and Zoroaster, all, however impartially portrayed, paling before the unapproached moral greatness of that Hebrew code which was confirmed by Jehovah from Sinai.

The larger portion of the book is devoted to the two pre-eminent nations of the past, —

“ To the glory that was Greece,
And the grandeur that was Rome.”

Combining philosophy and narration, yet ever pursuing the golden mean between the two, the author transports his reader into the very heart of Athens, and Sparta, and Rome. Long-dead heroes and long-vanished scenes he summons to life. Always preserving the truth and splendor of history, he breathes upon his pages the attractiveness of romance. The story ends with the wreck of the Roman Empire, while the Christian Church, unsubmerged in the ruins, is subduing to herself the barbarians who have come down like a flood.

In addition to its claim upon the general reader, the whole affords an admirable text-book in preparation for college. It imparts ample information to answer the requirements of a college entrance examination in Greek and Roman history, and bestows that information in a manner that is never dull. The practical value of this English version is largely increased by a plentiful supply of maps. None were contained in the French original. But both book and map must be supplemented by the teacher. In every class-room, whatever the branch of study, the teacher, and not the text-book, however excellent, must be the stimulating factor in instruction.

EDWIN A. GROSVENOR.

AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

February 9, 1899.

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ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST



I

THE BEGINNING

The Earth.—Every primitive religion has sought to explain God, the world, the creation of man, and the co-existence on earth of good and evil. Therefore all ancient peoples had or still preserve pious legends in harmony with their country and climate, their customs and social state; that is to say, with the conditions under which they lived, felt, thought, and believed. Of these early narratives the most simple and the grandest is Genesis, the sacred book of the Jews and Christians.

Science, in its turn, seeks to fathom those mysteries, although the origin of things must forever elude it. It indeed renounces the task of solving questions which faith alone must decide. Yet, by a magnificent effort of examination and comparison, it has succeeded in acquiring a mass of truths, the discovery of which would prove the greatness of man, were not his littleness demonstrated every moment by the infinity of time and space into which his gaze and thought plunge with an insatiable and too often powerless curiosity.

Our solar system, with all the stars which compose it, is only a speck in immensity. According to the hypothesis of Laplace, which nothing so far has disproved, those stars themselves originally formed but a single whole. It was one of those prodigious *nebulæ*, such as are still seen in the vastitude of the heavens, and are probably so many suns in process of formation. Our nebula became concentrated into a focus of heat and light, but as it followed its path through space, it now and again threw off masses of cosmic matter which formed the planets. The latter, as if demon-

strating their origin, still revolve in the orbit of the sun from which they emanated.

The globe which we inhabit is therefore a tiny fragment of the sun, which extinguished as it cooled and enveloped itself successively in a gaseous ocean, the atmosphere; then in a liquid ocean, the sea; and finally in a solid crust, the land, the highest points of which emerge above the waves.

Animal life awoke first in the bosom of the waters, where it was represented in most ancient times, thousands of centuries ago, by species intermediate between the vegetable and animal, and analogous to corals and sponges. Then came molluscs, crustacea, and the first fishes. At the same time the seaweeds had their birth in shallow waters. Meanwhile the air, saturated with carbonic acid and nitrogen, developed upon the half-submerged land a mighty vegetation, wherein predominated those tree-ferns and calamites whose remains we find in mines of anthracite and bituminous coal.

Thus in the animal and vegetable kingdoms the simplest organisms were produced. Time passed, many thousand centuries elapsed, but the work of creation went on. Ancient forms were changed or new forms were created. The organism became complicated; functions were multiplied; life took possession of the earth, the sea, and the air, blossoming in greater variety of forms, and richer and more powerful in its means of action. At last man appeared.

Thus, continual ascent toward a more perfect life seems to have been the law of the physical as it was, later on, of the intellectual world. During the geological period nature was modifying the organism, and hence the functions, and was developing instinct, that first gleam of intelligence. In the historical period, civilization modifies social order and develops human faculties. In the first case, progress is marked by change of form; in the second, by change of ideas.

Man. — At what epoch did man make his appearance upon the earth? Hardly more than half a century ago unlooked-for discoveries shattered all the old systems of chronology, and proved that man himself had part in the geological evolutions of our globe. Flints and bones shaped into axes, knives, needles, arrow heads, and spear heads; bones of huge animals cleft lengthwise, so that the marrow might

be extracted for nourishment; heaps of shells and débris of repasts; ashes, the evident remains of antediluvian hearths; even pictures traced on shoulder bones and slate rocks, representing animals now extinct or seen only in places very distant from those they then inhabited; finally, human remains found unquestionably in the deposits of the quaternary epoch, and traces of human industry, which seem to be detected even in the tertiary strata, — prove that man lived at a time when our continents had neither the fauna, the flora, the climate, nor the shape which they have to-day.

The most numerous discoveries have been made in France. But, on the slopes of Lebanon as in the caves of Périgord, in the valleys of the Himalayas as in those of the Pyrenees, on the banks of the Missouri as on those of the Somme, primitive man appears with the same arms, the same customs, the same savage and precarious life, which certain tribes of Africa, Australia, and the New World still preserve under our very eyes. The future king of creation was as yet only its most miserable product. Thus, science has moved back the birth of mankind toward an epoch when the measure of time is no longer furnished, as in our day, by a few generations of men, but where we must reckon by hundreds of centuries. This is the Stone Age. It is already possible for us to divide it into many periods, each showing progress over the one preceding. We begin with stones roughly fashioned into implements and weapons, and with caverns which serve for refuge; we reach stones artistically worked and polished, pottery shaped by hand and even ornamented, and lake cities or habitations raised on piles; at last we arrive at dolmens and menhirs, those so-called druidic monuments which were formerly recognized only in France and England, but which now are found almost everywhere. Thus the first man recedes and becomes lost in a vague and appalling antiquity.

Do all men descend from a single pair? Yes, if we determine the unity of the species from the sole consideration that intermarriage of any two varieties of the human race may result in offspring. Nevertheless, physiology and linguistic science set forth very wide differences between the various branches of the human family.

Race and Language. — Intermarriage and the influence of habitation, that is, of soil and climate, have produced many

varieties of race. These are generally grouped in three principal classes, the White, the Yellow, and the Black. To them may be added a number of intermediate shades arising from amalgamations that have taken place on the borders of the three dominant classes. If all spring from a common origin, they have none the less developed in distinct regions: the White, or Caucasian, on the table-land of Iran, whence it reached India, Western Asia, and all Europe; the Yellow, or Mongolian, in China, in Northern Asia, and the Malay peninsula; the Black in Africa and Australia. This race is regarded by certain authors as descending from an earlier creation of mankind. The aborigines of America appear to have Mongolian blood.

Languages are also classed in three great groups, the monosyllabic, the agglutinative, and the inflected. The first class possesses only roots, which are at once both nouns and verbs, and which the voice expresses by a single sound, but the meaning of which varies according to position in the sentence and the relation they sustain to other words. In the second class the root does not change, but is built upon by the juxtaposition of particles that are easily recognized and answer all grammatical demands. In the third class the root undergoes modifications of form, sound, accent, and meaning. In this way the noun is made to express gender, number, and relation; and the verb, tense, and mode. Hence the inflected languages are the most perfect medium for the expression and development of ideas.

All the languages spoken on the globe, whether in former times or to-day, represent one of these phases. The white race, being the most developed, employs the third. The Turanian idioms (Tartar, Turkish, Finnish), those of the African tribes, and of the American Indians, belong to the second. The ancient Chinese stopped at the first phase. Their descendants advance slowly toward the second, retaining for their written language some fifty thousand ideographic characters, each of which was, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, originally the image of an object or the conventional representation of an idea.

The Black and Yellow Races. — History preserves no narrative of the Black Race, whose existence, passed in the depths of Africa, has resembled rivers, the sources of which are unknown and the waters of which are lost in the

desert. We know little more about the American Indians or the islanders of Oceanica. Our science is small as yet, for it is young. In our own time it has created paleontology or the history of the earth, and comparative philology or the history of languages, races, and primitive ideas. Thus it has lifted one corner of the veil that conceals the creation of nature and the beginning of civilization. Hence, of the black and red races, the ancient masters of Africa, Oceanica, and the New World, there is nothing to inscribe in the book of history save their names.

The Yellow Race, on the contrary, boasts the most ancient annals of the world, an original civilization, and empires which still exist. The Chinese and the Mongols are its best-known representatives. Attached to it are all the peoples of Indo-China and several among the most primitive populations of Hindustan. So, too, are the Thibetan, Turkish, and Tartar tribes, whose fixed or nomadic habitations extend from the west of China as far as the Caspian Sea; also the Huns, so terrible to Europe in the fifth century of our era, and probably the Hungarians or Magyars.

The White Race: The Aryans and Semites. — The White Race, which has accomplished almost alone the work of civilization, is divided into two principal families: the Semites, in the southwest of Asia and Northern Africa; the Aryans or Indo-Europeans, in the rest of Western Asia and Europe. They appear to have had their cradle in the lands northwest of the Indus toward ancient Bactria, now the khanate of Balkh, in Turkestan. Thence powerful colonies set out which planted themselves at intervals from the banks of the Ganges to the uttermost parts of the West. The kinship of the Hindus, Medes, and Persians in the East; of the Pelasgi and Hellenes in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; of the Celts, Germans, and Slavs north of the Black Sea, the Balkans, and the Alps, has been proved by their idioms, by grammatical analogies, and by word-roots. Thus Greek and Latin are sister tongues, closely allied to Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Indian Brahmans. Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic languages or dialects show likewise that they are vigorous offshoots of this great stock.

Before their separation these tribes had already domesticated the sheep, goat, pig, and goose, and had subdued the ox and horse to the yoke. They had begun to till the earth, to work certain metals, and to construct fixed dwellings.

Marriage among them was a religious act. The family was the foundation of all public order. Associated families formed the tribe; many tribes constituted the people, whose chief was the supreme judge during peace, and led the warriors in battle. They had the vague consciousness of a First Cause, "of a God raised above other gods." But this doctrine, too exalted for people in their infancy, was obscured and concealed by the deification of natural forces.

As for the Semites, established between the Tigris, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea, they had, as far back as we can penetrate, one single system of languages, which leads us to attribute to them a single origin. Moreover, the Bible makes the Arabs, as well as the Jews, descend from Abraham. The Syrians and Phœnicians were of the same blood. Semitic colonies peopled Northern Africa as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. It was in the midst of this race, born in the desert where nature is simple and changeless, that in all its purity and splendor the dogma of one only God was to be preserved.

Thus two great currents of white populations were formed, which, starting from the centre of Asia, flowed from east to west, over the western region of that continent, the north of Africa, and the whole of Europe.

Earliest Centres of Civilization. — These men of the ancient ages, the first-born of the world, continued for a long time savage and miserable before they constituted regular societies. When, at last, they had found localities endowed with natural fertility, where the search for means of existence did not absorb all the forces of the body and mind, association assumed regular forms. The elementary arts were invented, the first compacts made, and the great work of civilization was begun, which man will never complete, but which he will always carry farther.

If we study the physical configuration of Asia, we shall readily understand why in that continent there were three centres of primitive civilization: China, India, and Assyria. Like waters which, held back for a time in elevated regions, flow toward lower levels and there form great streams, so men descend into the plain sheltered by mountains and rendered fertile by rivers. Such great natural basins, cradles, as it were, of flowers and fruits, prepared by the hand of God for infant races, were the valley of the Ganges, which the Himalayas surround with an impassable rampart, the

plain of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which the mountains of Media, Ararat, Taurus, and Lebanon encompass, and the fertile regions of the Kiang or Blue River and of the Hoang-Ho or Yellow River, bounded on the west by the Yung-Ling and In-Chan mountains. Egypt offers another example of such civilization blossoming out upon the banks of a great stream in a fertile land.

Primitive Books. — If from these general facts which history has recovered we wish to pass to more precise details, we must scrutinize the books which go far back in the series of the centuries, and which narrate, without hesitation, the creation of heaven and earth, and of man and animals, the formation of the oldest societies, and the invention of the first arts. But the examination and comparison of cosmogonies, of religions, and primitive legends, make us recognize everywhere the creative power of popular imagination in the youth of the world. We see man in the state of childhood, with the rashness of ignorance, applying his curiosity to nature in its entirety. As the laws of the physical world were then hidden from him, we see him trying to understand everything by conjecture. We see him, still like the child in his effort to explain all, transforming into living persons the effects derived from the First Cause, while the Supreme Legislator remains hidden behind the multiplicity of phenomena resulting from his laws. Even in these venerable books, the exhaustive study of languages, following the order of their historical development, has enabled us to discern the interpolations of various later epochs. Therefore it has been necessary, sometimes, to separate what has been brought together, to bring together what has been separated, and to give a new meaning to expressions, images, and ideas that had been wrongly understood. All the sacred books of ancient peoples have been subjected to these sure processes of modern science. This mighty work of philological research, dating almost from our own day, has already shed upon the relation of peoples and the formation of their beliefs a light which, though vacillating on many points, the preceding centuries could not even suspect.

II

CHINA AND THE MONGOLS

Great Antiquity of Chinese Civilization. — To all ancient peoples their antiquity is a title of honor. Thus the Chinese inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, or, as they still call it, the Middle Kingdom, claim for themselves eighty or a hundred thousand years of existence prior to their half-authentic history. Even that goes back to the thirty-fifth century before Christ, and about ten centuries later becomes sufficiently positive to present connected annals.

We know not when or how that strange society was formed, which for at least four thousand years has retained the same character. Its practical mind was wholly occupied with the earth, which it conquered by agriculture and by industry, and but little concerned with heaven, which it left empty and deserted. On one side of the Himalayas, man, cradled with half-closed eyes on the bosom of an over-fertile nature, was intoxicated by the enervating breath of the mighty magician, and dreamed of countless benevolent or terrible divinities, who enjoined upon him contempt for life, and annihilation in Brahma. But on the other side of the mountains, a laborious, patient, active race drew from life all that it could give, and replaced the formidable systems of the Hindu gods by a merely human system of morality. The Emperor Chun, who reigned in the twenty-third century before our era, had already established for his people the five immutable rules, or the five duties of a father and his children, of a king and his subjects, of the aged and the young, of married persons, and of friends. At that time the empire was divided into provinces, departments, districts, and cities, with a great number of tributary peoples and vassal princes, who often revolted.

Imperial Dynasties and Chinese Feudalism. — Until about the year 2200, the emperors were elected. Beginning with that period heredity was established, but with the corrective that the grandees could still select the most capable from

among the sons of the dead sovereign as his successor. The Emperor Yu began the Hia dynasty, which lasted four centuries, and ended as an abominable tyranny with frightful disorders. The founder of the second or Chang dynasty was a superior man, whose virtues were celebrated by Confucius. To appease the wrath of heaven during a famine, he made a public confession of his faults; and afterwards, whenever a great calamity occurred, his successors followed his example. They and their people believed that heaven would certainly be moved by this voluntary expiation, and there was both grandeur and lofty morality in this belief.

The last of the Chang resembled the last of the Hia. When one of his ministers remonstrated with him, he replied: "Thy discourse is that of a wise man. But it is said that the heart of a wise man is pierced with seven holes. I wish to make sure of it," and he ordered him to be disembowelled. Wou Wang, prince of Tehu, revolted against the tyrant, who was vanquished, and died like Sardanapalus. He heaped together all his wealth in a palace, set fire, and flung himself into the flames (1122). Wou Wang reorganized the ancient Tribunal of History, whose members held office for life that they might be independent. The political wisdom of the Chinese was chiefly founded on respect for their ancestors and for the examples which these had left. Under this dynasty the feudal kingdoms increased to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, and China had a real feudal system, which favored its civilization. To this epoch must be referred the construction of an observatory, which still exists, as well as the sun-dial set up by the successor of Wou Wang. The Chinese were already acquainted with the compass and with the properties of a right-angled triangle.

The Great Wall and the Burning of the Books. Immense Extent of the Empire at the Beginning of our Era. — Nevertheless, Chinese feudalism ended, like our own, by producing a vast anarchy. The emperor was without power. One of his tributaries asserted his prerogative of offering the sacrifice to Heaven, and confined the last Tchu in a palace. A new dynasty, that of the Tsin, overthrew all the feudal lords, and restored the great empire, which took its name. Its most illustrious chief, Tsin-Chi-Hoang-Ti, accomplished this revolution (247 B.C.). He opened roads, tunnelled mountains, and, in order to stop the incursions of

the nomad Tartars, constructed the Great Wall, twenty-five kilometres long; but he has a deplorable celebrity for having burned books and persecuted men of letters. That everything might date from his reign, he wished to efface the past. Fortunately he could not destroy all the books or kill all the learned men. Chinese society was disturbed for the moment by this violent reformer, but soon returned to its traditional life. The Tsin dynasty did not last long. It was replaced by that of the Han, who ruled from 202 B.C. to 226 A.D. Under them the literati regained their influence, and China attained the apogee of her power. Her armies penetrated even to the Caspian Sea, almost within sight of the frontier of the Roman Empire; and on the shores of the Eastern Sea kings and peoples obeyed her.

Invasion of the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century. — But the two empires which shared between them the greater part of the then known world, secretly undermined by the vices fostered by too great success, tottered and fell under the repeated shocks of invasion. From the steppes, extending from the Great Wall to the Caspian Sea, hordes set out at different periods and hurled themselves, right and left, upon the two societies where civilization had accumulated the wealth which these barbarians coveted. The result, for China, was its first dismemberment in two kingdoms, separated by the Blue River; and in both many obscure dynasties followed one another. The two were reunited in 618, but the new empire did not possess sufficient strength to resist the continual incursions of the Mongols.

These nomads inhabited the same places whence, in the fourth century, had begun the invasion of the Huns which resulted in hurling barbarian Europe upon Roman Europe. They were always easily set in motion. Horses, herds, houses, all moved, or were readily carried, for the houses were only chariots or cabins placed on wheels and drawn by oxen. Such was the itinerant dwelling of the Tartar. He himself lived on horseback, remaining there, in case of need, day and night, awake or asleep. Meat packed between his saddle and the back of his horse, and milk curdled and dried, furnished his food. He feared neither fatigue nor privations, yielded to his chief a passive obedience, but was proud of his race and ambitious for his horde.

Temudjin, the chieftain of one of these Mongolian hordes, united them all under his authority, in 1203. He took the

name of Genghis Khan, or chief of chiefs, and promised this irresistible cavalry, ferocious and cunning as few people ever were, to lead them to the conquest of the world. He began by overwhelming the Tartars, his former masters, wrested from them northern China, which they had conquered, and, leaving to his successors the task of subjugating the provinces to the south of the Blue River and Corea, threw his armies upon Western Asia and Europe, where they marked their road across Persia, Russia, and Poland by bloody ruins. The hardy horsemen who had bathed their horses in the Eastern Ocean made them drink the waters of the Oder and the Morava at the foot of the Bohemian Mountains. Never had the sun shone upon such a wide dominion. It was necessarily brittle, yet the Russians were forced to endure it for two centuries, and were released from the Mongol yoke only by Ivan III., at the beginning of modern times.

At the death of Genghis Khan (1227) his empire was divided into four states,—China, Turkestan, Persia, and Kaptchak, or southern Russia. His grandson, Kublai, who reigned over all China, Thibet, Pegu, and Cochin China, bore the title of grand khan, to which was attached an idea of superiority, so that, from Peking to the banks of the Dnieper, everything seemed to obey him. But this suzerainty was not exercised long. Before the end of the thirteenth century, the separation between the four kingdoms was complete.

First Europeans in China. — Kublai Khan, founder of the Yen dynasty (1279), adopted the customs of his new subjects, respected their traditions, encouraged letters and agriculture, but embraced Buddhism, a religion originating in India, and now claiming in China two hundred million adherents, or half the population. A Venetian, Marco Polo, lived seventeen years at his court, and we still possess the interesting account of his travels. A national revolution in 1368 expelled the foreigners, when the Chinese Ming dynasty replaced that of the Mongols. This family occupied the throne until 1644, or till long after the arrival of the first European colonists in China, since the Portuguese establishment at Macao dates from the year 1514.

New Mongol Empire in Central Asia and India. — During this period are determined the destiny of the Ottoman Turks, a people originally from Turkestan, and hence re-

lated to the Mongols, and the career of Timur, surnamed Lenk, or the Lame, a descendant of Genghis Khan. The Turks took Constantinople in 1453. Timur, best known as Tamerlane, for the second time united the nomad Mongol hordes. Between 1370 and 1405 this terrible rival of Attila conquered Turkestan, Persia, India, and Asia Minor, defeated in the Kaptehak the Mongols of the Golden horde, though he did not destroy their kingdom, and at the famous battle of Angora vanquished the Turks, whose sultan he took prisoner. Gazing from one end of Asia to the other, Tamerlane saw no empire still standing except that of China. He was marching his innumerable hordes against it, when death at last arrested the tireless old man who lives in history as the most terrible incarnation of the malignant spirit of conquest. His empire was divided, and disappeared with the exception of a magnificent fragment, the Empire of the Great Mogul, which arose in the peninsula of the Ganges, and which fell only at the close of the last century under the blows of the English.

China in Modern Times. — In China the indigenous Ming dynasty reigned with honor, but, content with prosperity and peace, neglected the customs and institutions of war. Thus the Celestial Empire was once more invaded in 1644 by western nomads, the Mantchu Tartars. The Tsin dynasty, which they founded, still reigns at Peking. Yet such was the resistant and absorbent force of this great Chinese society that, far from yielding to foreign influences, it has always conquered its conquerors. The Mantchu emperors made no change in its customs, and restored its fortune by giving it the boundaries which it possesses to-day. It was these princes who in 1840 waged with the English the opium war, which ended by the opening of five ports to foreign commerce, and who carried on with the English and French the war of 1860, which resulted in the victory of Palikao and the capture of Peking.

So the yellow race has made a great noise in the world. Through the Huns, it brought about the fall of the Roman Empire; through the Mongols of Genghis Khan, it raised, in the thirteenth century, the vastest dominion of the universe; through those of Tamerlane, it overthrew and crushed the population of twenty kingdoms; through the Turks, it held Christianity in check for centuries; through the Chinese, it has constituted a great society which, for fifty cen-

turies and with unbroken continuity, has caused a large portion of the human race to enjoy the benefits of civilized life.

Confucius and Chinese Society. — One man contributed, if not to establish, at least to maintain, the character which the Chinese constitution still preserves. This was Kung-fu-tsze, or Confucius. His books, serving as a gospel in the Middle Kingdom, must be learned by those who undergo the examinations required for obtaining literary rank and for admission to public functions. Confucius was not a legislator; he never had authority to publish laws, but he taught wisdom. "There is nothing so simple," he says, "as the moral code practised by our wise men of old; it is summed up in the observance of the three fundamental laws which regulate the relations between the sovereign and his subjects, between father and children, and between husband and wife, and in the exercise of the five capital virtues. These are: humanity or universal charity toward all members of our own species without distinction; justice, which gives his due to each individual without partiality; conformity to prescribed rites and established usages, so that those who make up society may live alike and share the same advantages as well as the same disadvantages; uprightness, or that rectitude of mind and heart which causes one to seek the truth in everything, without deception of self or of others; sincerity and good faith, or that frankness mingled with confidence, which excludes all pretence and disguise in conduct as well as in speech. These things are what have rendered our first teachers worthy of respect, and have immortalized their names after death. Let us take them for our models; let us make every effort to imitate them."

Elsewhere he sets forth the principles of religion and worship. "Heaven," he says, "is the universal principle, the fruitful source whence all things have flowed. Ancestors who emerged therefrom have themselves been the source of succeeding generations. To give to Heaven proofs of one's gratitude is the first duty of man; to show himself grateful toward his ancestors is the second. For this reason Fou Hi established ceremonies in honor of Heaven and of ancestors." Thus religion and government rest upon filial piety. Heaven is honored as the author of beings, and the emperor, the son of Heaven, is the father of his nation.

Thanks to the strength of this sentiment, China has been enabled to pass through the numerous revolutions which the succession of its twenty-two native or foreign dynasties have brought upon it, while no essential change has been wrought in the internal system of government, under which the welfare of 400,000,000 men has been developed. Thus the Chinese have the right to say to us: "We envy you nothing; we enjoy all the useful arts; we cultivate wheat, vegetables, fruits. In addition to cotton, silk, and hemp, a great number of roots and barks furnish us with tissues and stuffs. Like you we understand mining, carpentry, joinery, the manufacture of pottery, porcelain, and paper. We excel as dyers, stone-cutters, and wheelwrights. Our roads and canals furrow the whole empire. Suspension bridges, as daring and lighter than yours, span our rivers or unite the summits of mountains." They might add, "We have a literature which goes back more than four thousand years, and a moral code as good as many another. Our sciences need no aid from those of Europe to compete with some of yours. Earlier than you we were acquainted with the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing, those great discoveries of which you make such boast. Now, if we have reached this point without foreign assistance, it is because, fixing our eyes on the past, we have not made over our institutions with every generation. Despite the changes of individuals on the throne of Peking, and modifications of our frontiers, we have, through the confusion of conquests and invasions, preserved our social order and respected the state, because we respect the family."

In that country there are neither nobility to guide and govern the people, nor slaves to corrupt it. The emperor, in homage to labor, himself at certain seasons opens the furrow with a plough. Intellect has forced a recognition of its rights, since office is bestowed with regard to neither birth nor fortune, but on account only of learning. Nevertheless, there we see the vice and misery to which immense agglomerations of men or long-continued prosperity gives rise. Falsehood works its way into the institutions, which it distorts. Since, so to speak, this people has neither religion, nor philosophy, nor art, and is ignorant of an ideal, it has remained on that midway mental level whence the fall to a still lower plane is easy. Absorbed by its needs and pleasures, it has not undergone those painful birth-

throes of ideas, on account of which other nations have suffered so much, but have gained thereby an imperishable name. China has given nothing to the world; to the world she has been as though she existed not.

Thus they have an airy architecture but no monuments. Their brick and wooden houses suggest the primitive tent. Their palaces are only piles of buildings constructed upon the tent type, sometimes not devoid of grace, but always devoid of grandeur. In painting and sculpture they imitate what they see, but they see the ugly and grotesque rather than the beautiful and true. Their imagination takes pleasure in strange forms, instead of idealizing natural forms. Their landscapes are without perspective and their paintings without moral life. Everywhere are vulgar scenes which represent neither a sentiment nor an idea, but only reveal the sensual appetites of this listless and yet active race.

III

INDIA

Contrast between India and China. — China and India adjoin each other. Nevertheless, between them intervenes more than the bulk of the Himalayas, "the Palace of Snow," as the Hindus call it. The two races are absolutely separate by natural character and disposition. On the one side a harsh, positive spirit, without horizon, has settled and prescribed the rules of a moral code; on the other are a disordered imagination, a faith ardent but without works, a useless asceticism which kills the flesh, and unbridled passions which satiate it; in short, man lost in the bosom of nature, and aspiring only to lose himself in the bosom of divinity. On both sides, a regular, changeless machine is the idea of government. With the former, this machine is set in motion by the learned, who devote all their attention to the life of the body; with the latter, it is set in motion by the priests, who issue their commands in the name of the gods. In the former case, any one can attain anything; in the latter, no one has the right or power to leave the caste in which he was born.

Primitive Populations: the Aryans. The Vedas. — India, which consists of the two great valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, Hindustan, and of a peninsula, the Deccan, was first peopled by a black race, of which the Gonds are the last remnants; then by the Turanian tribes, such as the Tamils and Telingas, a distant branch of the Mongolian race; and lastly by men with brown and reddish skin, who appear to have been the base of population along the shores of the Indian Ocean, and with whom Herodotus was acquainted in Gedrosia, under the name of Ethiopians. It was the Aryans, however, who gave India its place in history. These Aryans formed part of a large group of white people permanently established in the valleys of the Hindu-koosh, the Indian Caucasus, possessing the same degree of civilization with similar languages, habits, and beliefs. When

long centuries had crowded into this narrow place a too numerous population, had accentuated tribal differences, and aroused political and religious quarrels, then from this table-land, in four directions and at different epochs, streams of men poured forth who inundated half of Asia, India, and the whole of Europe. The Celts, Pelasgi, Iaones, or Ionians, flowed toward Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Gaul; the Iranians toward Media and Persia; the Germans and Slavs, from the Ural Mountains to the Rhine; as for the Aryans, they turned to the southeast and crossed the Indus. They subjected the region of the Five Rivers, or Punjab, after a prolonged struggle, the memory of which has been preserved in the Vedas, the first of their sacred books and among the most ancient monuments of our race.

Fifteen centuries, perhaps, before Christ, the Aryans of the Punjab conquered the fertile valley which the Ganges overflows with periodical inundations like the Nile, and advanced as far as its mouths, which mingle with those of the Brahmapootra, a river equally mighty, whose source is found upon the northern slope of the Palace of Snow. Checked on the east by the mountains and the mass of Mongolian nations of Indo-China, the Aryans fell to fighting among themselves. The Mahabharata, the great Indian epic, still tells in 250,000 verses the story of the terrible war between the Kurus and the Pandavas, which ended only on the appearance of the hero Krishna, the incarnation of the god Vishnu.

Delhi is the theatre of the principal events in the Mahabharata, whose heroes do not quit the valley of the Ganges. This Indian Iliad presents singular affinities with the Greek Iliad, in certain parts surpasses the latter in beauty, and is, like it, the work of centuries. Together with the Vedas it throws light upon the origin of many beliefs and symbols spread among the ancient populations of Greece, Italy, and Northern Europe. The Ramatana, another epic poem, relates to the conquest by the Aryans of the peninsula of Hindustan and of the great island of Ceylon, whither Rama, "of the divine bow," carried the Vedic religion. This time a single author, Valmik, narrates in 48,000 verses the exploits of the hero. The brilliancy and grandeur of his pictures and the touching grace of his poetry place him by the side of Virgil and Homer.

History of India. — Unfortunately, this poetic and relig-

ious race possesses no other history than that of its gods. The conquest by Darius of the countries on the right of the Indus gave Herodotus no information concerning the India of the Ganges. On the left bank Alexander found the two Pori and many kings and independent peoples. He wished to go to Patna, the capital of the great Prasian Empire, at the junction of the Jamna and the Ganges. A revolt among his soldiers stopped him on the banks of the Hyphasis. An Indian of humble origin, named Tchandragoupta, expelled the governors whom the Macedonian hero left in the Punjaub. He overthrew the empire of the Prasians, and received the ambassadors of Seleucus Nicator. The Greek kings of Bactriana held a part of the valley of the Indus, where we still find their medals. Later on, regular commercial relations were established between Egypt and the Indian peninsula, where Roman merchants founded counting-houses. Every year they carried thither more than four million dollars in cash to purchase silks, pearls, perfumes, ivory, and spices. Thus, at the expense of the rest of the world, began that flow of precious metals to India whereby such enormous wealth has been accumulated in the hands of its princes.

Such treasures tempted the Mussulmans of Persia. Early in the eleventh century, a Turkish chieftain, Mahmoud the Gaznevid, carried into the midst of those inoffensive populations his iconoclastic rage, his cupidity, and his religion. The latter was adopted by a large number of the Hindus. The Turks were followed by the Mongols, whose chief reigned at Delhi until the last century under the name of Great Mogul. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the arrival, in 1498, of Vasco da Gama at Calicut, placed India for the first time in direct relations with Europe. After the merchants of Lisbon came those of Amsterdam, France, and England. The English ended by seizing everything, and now reign from the Himalayas to Ceylon over 200,000,000 subjects.

The Castes: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Sudras. — Thus, nearly ten centuries ago, this intelligent and gentle race lost its independence, but it preserved its social organization, religion, and literature. The great god Brahma, say the sacred books, divided the people into four castes: the Brahmans, or priests, who sprang from his head; the Kshatriyas, or warriors, who came from his arms; the Vai-

syas, or laborers and merchants, who issued from his belly and thighs; and the Sudras, or artisans, who came from his feet. The first three, or "the regenerated," who represent the Aryan conquerors, are the ruling castes. Marriage is prohibited between them and the lowest caste, which also includes the descendants of the aborigines, or the vanquished first inhabitants. The children born of forbidden unions, and all violators of religious laws are the parias or impure. They cannot inhabit the cities, bathe in the Ganges, or read the Vedas. To touch them occasions defilement. The Brahmans alone had the right to read and expound the Holy Scriptures or the revealed book. As all science and all wisdom were contained therein, they were both priests, physicians, judges, and poets. Interpreters of the will of heaven, they reigned by virtue of religious terror. Thus they were able to surround the rajahs or kings, chosen from the warrior caste, with the thousand prescriptions of a ceremonial which the laws of Manu have preserved for us.

Not without terrible struggles did the Kshatriyas submit to this sacerdotal supremacy. Legends have preserved the memory of their resistance. The final triumph of the priests does not appear to have been complete until after the ninth century before Christ. India then received the organization, which in its principal features it still retains, and which we find in the book of the laws of Manu. The last compilation of these laws, certainly prior to the Buddhist reform in the sixth century before Christ, carries back this religious, political, and civil code to a far distant antiquity.

Political Organizations and Religion. — The laws of Manu remind one of the Pentateuch of Moses. They undertake to set forth as by divine revelation the origin of the world; the institution of priests; certain precepts for the individual, the family, and the town; the duties of the prince and of the castes; the civil and military organization, and penal and religious laws. Everything is summed up in two rules: for society, the subordination of castes; for the individual, physical and moral purity. The Vedic gods are preserved therein, but are subordinated to Brahmi, the being absolute and eternal, impersonal and sexless, whence, nevertheless, emanates Brahma, the active principle of the universe, which in turn produces Paramatma, the soul of

the world. He, uniting with Manas, or the intellectual principle, gives origin to all beings, who deviate less from Brahma, their supreme source, in proportion as they possess more wisdom.

Thus heaven and earth, with all the powers and beings therein, are the product of a series of successive emanations. In this immense chain, each being has the rank which his intellectual or moral value has assigned him. Thus, below the absolute Being appears the Indian Trimurti: Brahma, who creates the worlds; Vishnu, who regulates them; and Siva, who destroys in order to regenerate them; then the Devas or gods, symbolical representations of the forces of nature; then man; still lower, the inferior creatures, real or imaginary, such as the Nagas and the Raxasas, with changing forms. By means of learning and of the rigorous observance of religious practices, especially by austerities which subdue the flesh, and ecstasy which annihilates personality and empties the individual soul into the soul of the world, man may equal the gods, command nature, and deserve at death annihilation in the bosom of Brahma. They whose asceticism and piety have not sufficed to secure such supernatural power and such annihilation in God are recompensed for their vulgar merits, after Yama, the god of death, has touched them, by entrance into the Svarga, and into the seven and twenty places of delight. The guilty are hurled into Naraka, which is divided into twenty-one parts, according to the diversity of tortures undergone there.

But the effect of good, as of bad works, is worn out by time. Heaven and hell cast back into life the souls which they have received. These souls reënter existence in different conditions, which are always determined, nevertheless, by the law of rise and descent in the scale of being according to their merit and demerit. This is metempsychosis, a doctrine which subjected to successive transmigrations all organized nature from the plant up to man. At the time fixed for the completion of a cycle everything was engulfed in Brahma, but speedily another creation emerged from him, and a new cycle began. The soul of the righteous alone was exempt from these painful rebirths, since his perfections had won for him the privilege of absorption into the eternal essence. This was the reward awaited by the priests who had traversed a series of previous existences in such a

manner as to deserve a final rebirth in the superior caste, whence they were to pass into the bosom of Brahma.

This original conception of the transmigration of the soul, at once profound and simple, forced a vast system of expiation and reward, wherein evil and misery were explained by sin, and good fortune and power by virtue. Unfortunately this doctrine rendered legitimate a hierarchy of beings. It ratified the unalterable distinction of castes, and the contempt of the high for the low. It confirmed the constitution of a theocracy which, the better to defend its power, made purity consist, not in real virtue, but in the observance of innumerable rites, the performance of which the priest superintended and regulated.

Buddhism.—This theocracy, the most powerful which the world has ever known, was shaken in the sixth century before our era by the preaching of Gautama, surnamed Buddha, or the Wise. His father was the rajah of a country near Nepaul. He was born in a royal palace, but at the age of twenty-nine abandoned his family, wealth, and rank to seek truth in the desert. Seven years later he returned from his wanderings. To mixed crowds, regardless of individual position or origin, he began to preach, but only by parables. He moved his hearers profoundly. This popular teaching was in itself a revolt against the Brahmans, who forbade teaching of doctrines to the Sudras. Although it was presented only as a reformation, the new doctrine went much farther. Gautama was destroying Brahmanism by substituting the equality of all men before the moral law for the principle of caste, and by substituting virtues which consist in the practice of the good, for the spurious virtues exacted by a ritual. The promises of salvation, of union with the divine essence, made to the Brahman alone, he replaced by the recognized capacity of all men by their merits to win Nirvana, or deliverance. In short, he broke up priestly heredity by calling to the priesthood the poor and the beggars who devoted themselves to a religious life.

Buddha established for men six perfections: knowledge, which must, above all, apply itself to distinguishing between the true and the false; energy, which makes us war against our chief enemies, the pleasures of sense; purity, which demonstrates victory; patience in enduring imaginary ills; charity, the bond of society; alms, the necessary consequence of charity. "I am come," he said, "to give to the

ignorant wisdom, and wisdom is knowledge, virtue, alms. The perfect man is nothing unless he comforts the afflicted and succors the miserable. My doctrine is a doctrine of pity. The prosperous find it difficult, and pride themselves on their birth; but the way of salvation is open to all those who annihilate their passions as an elephant overturns a hut of reeds."

These words, this so pure moral code, were astounding novelties. "This law of grace," opposed to a law of terror, made rapid progress among the lower castes, and even among the Kshatriyas, who had to endure the haughty domination of the Brahmans. Thus, despite the hatred of the priests against the reformer, Gautama was able to continue his apostolic work in peace until the age of eighty, without ever appealing to force, because he respected established order, and taught that men should render to princes that which was their due. When he died, his disciples collected his discourses, and convoked the first Buddhist council. Five hundred monks were present. After seven months of discussion they formulated their religious ceremonies and doctrine, which were stated with precision in a second council held in the fifth century, and in a third council about one hundred and fifty years before Christ.

The ritual is extremely simple. The temple contains the image of Gautama, who is honored and respected as the wisest of men, but who receives no adoration. There are no sacrifices or superstitious practices; at least there were none at the time when Buddhism had not yet been corrupted by the idolatrous traditions of the peoples among whom it spread and degenerated. In matter of dogma there was no separation from the ancient church. It even added to the Vedic divinities new but purer gods. It preserved the theory of rebirths, which, according to the Brahmanic doctrine, were for the mass of the faithful only periodical returns to misery and despair; but it gave to all men the means of escaping from these evils by the individual's own merit without the providential intervention of the gods.

The Western religions submit human personality during life to the action of Providence, and eternally preserve that personality after death by the resurrection of the body. In the pantheistic religions of the East, on the contrary, since all beings are of the same substance, they end by absorption into the bosom of the absolute Being, which is the

metaphysical bond of the universe. Buddhism did, it is true, recognize man's power to accomplish his own salvation; but the soul, for it, as for Brahmanism, was a temporary emanation from the infinite substance. Consequently, it solved the problem of the future life by the return of this particle of light to its home, by the absorption of the part in the great Whole.

The Hindu has at once less and more ambition than the Jew, the Mussulman, and the Christian. The latter hope to live again after death, and behold God face to face; the former consents to lose all individual existence on condition of becoming God himself.

We lay emphasis upon this moral history of India, because, in the first place, its political history is not known; and because, in the second, that country has been the main reservoir of philosophical and religious ideas, which, starting thence, have taken their course in different directions. The Brahmans, like the priests of Egypt, could well say to the Greeks: "You are children." Who would affirm that no echo of those great collisions of ideas of which India was the theatre, of those philosophical and religious controversies, of that peculiar organization of Buddhist churches which were animated by an ardent proselyting spirit, did not reach the commercial cities of the Asiatic coast, where Hellenic civilization had its awakening, and even as far as that great city of Alexandria whither the Ptolemies caused the books of the nations to be brought and translated?

Against Buddhism the most terrible persecution finally arose. "Let the Buddhists be exterminated," cried the Brahmans, "from the bridge of Rama (Ceylon) to the snow-whitened Himalayas! Whoever spares the child or the old man, shall himself be put to death." Persecution was successful in India, which returned to the Brahmans; but Buddhism spread into Thibet, which is its stronghold to-day, and into Mongolia, China, Indo-China, and Ceylon. In those countries it still numbers multitudes of believers, very few of whom, it is true, know and practise the pure doctrine of Gautama.

From this brief history it is evident that, if India has acted little, she has thought much. Let us add that the country is covered with imposing monuments of great elegance, of which we as yet are acquainted only with a small part. In thought, poetry, and art, India has developed three of the glories of Greece.

IV

EGYPT

First Inhabitants. — Herodotus said of a part of Egypt, "It is a gift of the Nile." The same might be said of the whole country, for without the periodical inundations of that river the desert would cover everything which was not hidden under the water.

This country is certainly not the one where the first civilized society was formed. Nevertheless, its history, explicit as to a very great number of facts and persons, covers seventy centuries. Before the Persians conquered it (527 B.C.), it had already been ruled by twenty-six dynasties. The names and acts of many of its sovereigns are carved on the monuments with which they covered Egypt. To the fourth king of the first dynasty we may attribute the step pyramid of Saccara, whose worn and crumbling stones seem to support with difficulty the weight of the centuries accumulated upon its head.

The first inhabitants of Egypt did not come from the south, descending the Nile, as was long supposed, but from the north, via the Isthmus of Suez. They belong to the race personified in Genesis under the name of Ham, and called by the Arabs "the Red" from the color of their complexion. This race appears to have formed, under the name of Cushites, the basis of the population all along the shore of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. These Cushites founded small states, which doubtless existed for long centuries before a powerful chief, Menes, subdued the whole valley from the sea to the cataracts of Syene, and founded, at least five thousand years before our era, the first royal race. To account for this unknown period and for the revolution in which it ended, it was said that at first the gods had reigned, then the demi-gods, that is, the priests, their representatives, and that the latter had been forced to yield their power to a warrior chieftain.

First Dynasties (5000 years B.C.). — Little is known of the first three dynasties, whose sway, eight centuries in

duration, reached the peninsula of Sinai, where on a rock the name of one of their princes has been found, who worked the copper mines in the peninsula. Under the fourth we behold all the marvels of a civilization then unparalleled. Art then reached such development as the most brilliant periods will hardly surpass. What space of time must have elapsed between the day when the first man was cast naked upon the earth with the instincts of a wild animal, and that day six thousand years ago, which saw the admirable statue of Chephren come forth from the hands of an Egyptian Phidias, the pyramids of Gizeh rise, and a great monarchical society formed with a strong political and religious organization? The paintings or the inscriptions of temples and tombs recall to us its industry, its commerce, its agriculture, and all the bloom of its vigorous youth. So early did Egypt enjoy all the art and science which it ever possessed, and subsequent centuries found themselves able to teach it little.

The most celebrated members of the sixth dynasty are a conqueror, Apapu, and a queen, Nitocris. Manetho calls the latter "the rosy-cheeked Beauty," and says that in order to avenge her brother, she invited the persons guilty of his murder to a banquet in a subterranean chamber, into which the waters of the Nile were suddenly admitted.

From the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, monuments are rare, and consequently history is silent. Great calamities must have befallen the country during this period. When the light reappears, we find royalty banished to the Thebaid, whence it emerged in triumph with the kings of the twelfth dynasty, who restored to Egypt its natural boundaries, and began the great struggle against the Ethiopians. One of the family constructed an artificial reservoir, covering sixty-three square miles, and called Lake Mœris, to regulate the overflow on the left bank of the Nile.

Invasion of the Hyksos or Shepherds (2200 B.C.). — A horde of shepherds, without doubt crowded westward by some great movement of humanity in Assyria, penetrated into the valley of the Nile by the Isthmus of Suez and subjugated the Delta and Middle Egypt. Their kings, who formed the seventeenth or Hyksos dynasty, established themselves at Memphis, and fortified the town of Avaris or Plusium at the entrance of the Delta in order to prevent other nomads from following in their footsteps. Appar-

ently it was one of these kings whom Joseph served as minister. After having reigned for five hundred years, the Hyksos were at last defeated by the kings of Thebes, and gradually forced back to the very walls of Pelusium. Ahmes I. succeeded in driving them thence, and the greater part of the nation quitted Egypt. Nevertheless to this day, in the vicinity of Lake Menzaleh, men of robust limbs and angular features are to be found, who may be descendants of the Shepherds.

Prosperity of Egypt from the Eighteenth to the Thirteenth Century. — The expulsion of the Hyksos was followed by prosperity that lasted for more than five hundred years. Thanks to the protecting deserts and its strong political organization, Egypt again developed a brilliant civilization which the greatest men of Greece came to study. This epoch begins with the princes of the eighteenth dynasty (1703-1462): Ahmes the Liberator; Thothmes I., who commemorated his victories by columns on the banks of the Euphrates and Nile; the regent Hatasu, whose exploits the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes hands down; Thothmes III., the conqueror of western Asia and of the Soudan, "who set the frontiers of Egypt wherever he pleased," as says the author of a heroic song carved on a pillar in the Museum of Boulaq; Amenophis III., the Memnon of the Greeks, the King of the Speaking Statue, which at sunrise saluted Aurora, his divine mother. In the tomb of the mother of Ahmes a veritable treasure of precious stones of the rarest workmanship has been found.

This good fortune continued under the princes of the nineteenth dynasty (1462-1288), several of whom rendered the name Rameses glorious. Seti I., after having carried his arms as far as Armenia, built the pillared hall of Karnak, a masterpiece of Egyptian architecture. He even opened from the Nile to the Red Sea a canal, vestiges of which can still be discerned, and on the arid road to the gold mines of Gebel Atoky he dug a well, which must be called artesian, since the water spouted from it. His successor, Rameses II., is the Sesostris to whom the Greeks have ascribed all the conquests of those ancient kings. He was indeed a warlike prince. Columns found near Beïrout, and a whole poem carved on a wall of Karnak, still attest his achievements. He was above all a great builder. He erected the two temples of Ipsamboul, the Ramesseum of Thebes, and the

obelisks of Luxor, one of which, a granite monolith seventy-seven feet high, covered with inscriptions in his honor, is the central monument of the Place de la Concorde in Paris. He compelled his captives to work on these monuments. The Israelites, scattered in great numbers over Lower Egypt, were treated as slaves. They were forced to labor in the quarries, to make bricks, and construct embankments to protect the cities from inundation. The oppression of their taskmasters fired the slaves with resolution. Under Menepthah the Hebrews departed from Egypt. The tomb of this Pharaoh is still to be seen in the valley of Bab-el-Moluk.

Decline of Egypt. Invasion of the Ethiopians. — The twentieth dynasty (1288-1110) begins with a great king, Rameses III., who represented on the magnificent temple of Medinet Abu at Thebes his exploits in Syria and the Soudan. After him came the decline. Egypt had become enfeebled in attempting to expand. Instead of remaining upon the banks of her sacred river, wherein was her strength, and in the midst of the deserts which gave her security, she sought to subdue Asia and the country of the Cushites and Libyans, and even the great island of Cyprus. She desired to control the sea. When indolent kings succeeded the glorious Pharaohs, priestly intrigue seated the high priest of Ammon upon the throne of Thebes, while another dynasty, the twenty-first, reigned at Tanis in the Delta. Thus divided, Egypt submitted to the influence of neighboring peoples instead of imposing her own. Her kings assumed Assyrian names, gave princesses of their blood to Solomon's harem, and surrounded themselves with a Libyan guard, which portioned out the country among its chiefs. The Cushites or Ethiopians took advantage of these discords to seize Upper Egypt. Sabaco, their prince, even captured King Bocchoris and burned him alive. "The vile race of Cushites," as the twenty-fifth dynasty, reigned for fifty years over all the land of the Pharaohs (715-655). Among their kings are Sebichus or Sua, whom Uzziah invoked against Shalmaneser, and Tharaka, who helped Hezekiah against Sennacherib. According to Manetho, a revolution drove the third successor of Sabaco back to Ethiopia. The leaders of this movement were natives of Sais and founded the twenty-sixth dynasty.

The Last Pharaohs. — Herodotus thus narrates the expulsion of the Ethiopians: "The last of the Ethiopian kings

was terrified by a dream, and fled to his native states, leaving the government of the country to the priest Sethos. At his death the warriors seized the supreme power and intrusted it to twelve of their number. Psammeticus, one of the twelve, overthrew his colleagues by means of Carian and Ionian pirates. Realizing the military superiority of the Greeks, he invited them in great numbers to the country, and thereby angered the native army, part of which emigrated to Ethiopia. Aided by the newcomers, he tried to recover Syria, and for twenty-eight years besieged Azoth, which he finally captured." Necho, his successor, attempted to complete Seti's canal and unite the Red Sea and Mediterranean. He caused the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa, and defeated Josiah, king of Judah, at Mageddo. Master of Palestine, he pushed on to the Euphrates, but was defeated by the Babylonians and lost all his conquests. The second of his successors, Apries, likewise failed in his attempts against the Cyrenians. His soldiers, believing themselves betrayed, installed in his place Amasis, one of their own number, under whom Egypt emitted a final gleam of brilliancy. Twenty thousand cities are then said to have covered the borders of the Nile. This prince gave the city of Naucratis to the Greeks, and entered into close relations with the Median, Lydian, and Babylonian kings, who were themselves menaced by a fresh invasion of the barbarous Persian mountaineers. He could not avert their ruin, and beheld the successive fall of Astyages, Crœsus, and Balthasar. The same fate awaited his own son, Psammeticus III., who, after a reign of six months, was overthrown by the Persian Cambyses (527).

Egypt under the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs. — Since that day Egypt has never been independent, though often rebelling against the yoke of foreigners. An unruly province of Persia, she was conquered by Alexander, who founded the famous city which bears his name (331). The dynasty of the Ptolemies reigned gloriously for a century, and ingloriously twice as long. The Romans took their place after the death of Cleopatra (30 B.C.). In 381 A.D. an edict of Theodosius suppressed the religion of the Pharaohs. The temples were mutilated, the statues of the gods destroyed, and of one of the richest civilizations of the world nothing was left except the ruins, which at the present day we piously preserve.

Egypt, thus violently forced into Christianity, remained nominally Christian for two centuries and a half without finding peace. The Arabs brought Islam (640). It took definite root, and under the Fatimite caliphs the land enjoyed a brief splendor. Cairo, a city which they founded, still contains the largest Mussulman school in the world. Thrice has France touched the land, always leaving glorious recollections of herself: in the thirteenth century with Saint Louis; in the eighteenth with Bonaparte; in the nineteenth with Frenchmen who conquered Egypt by their science and opened to the commerce of the globe the Isthmus of Suez, thus grandly realizing the dream of a Pharaoh who had been dead thirty-five centuries!

Egyptian Religion, Government, and Art. — Two religions existed side by side, the one held by the people and the other by the priests. The former was coarse and material. It regarded certain animals, the ichneumon, ibis, crocodile, hippopotamus, cat, bull, and many more, as divine beings. It was the old African fetichism, though elevated by theogonic ideas, as is shown by those gods with the head of a dog or falcon, and by the worship of the bull Apis, "engendered by a flash of lightning." The latter religion sought to account for the mysterious phenomena of nature, and explained the good and evil encountered everywhere by the opposition of two principles as Osiris, the representative of all beneficent influences, and Typhon, the god of night and of evil days. It even seems at first to have taught belief in one God without beginning or end. The care taken by the Egyptians to preserve the bodies of the dead proves that they hoped for a future life. The inscriptions even speak of numerous rebirths, which recall the metempsychosis of the Hindus. But this idea of the absolute and eternal Being was veiled from the eyes of the people and the priests by the conception of a divine trinity,—Osiris or the sun, the principle of all life, Isis or nature, and Horus, their divine child. After once abandoning pure monotheism, the Egyptians glided rapidly down the descent of polytheism. The representations on their monuments and in their religious rites of a host of secondary divinities made them forget the chief god, of whose attributes the others had at first been merely symbols.

The government was a monarchy, all the stronger because

its kings, according to common belief, were participants of divinity. All were "Sons of the Sun," and in that capacity were chiefs of religion as well as of society.

Society had neither a sacerdotal nor aristocratic caste, nor a popular body which might form a counterpoise to the king. This state of affairs ended in the establishment of a certain number of classes, which were non-hereditary, but in which the son habitually remained in the father's state of life. Herodotus enumerated seven of these classes: priests, warriors, laborers, herdsman, merchants, mariners, and, after Psammeticus, interpreters. There were, no doubt, many others. "Egypt," says Bossuet, "was the source of all good police regulation." We read in Diodorus that perjury was punished with death; that he who did not succor a man engaged in combat with an assassin, suffered the same penalty; that the slanderer was punished. Every Egyptian was obliged to deposit with a magistrate a document setting forth his means of livelihood, and a severe penalty discouraged false statements. The tongue of the spy, who betrayed state secrets to enemies, and both hands of counterfeiters, were cut off. In no case was accumulated interest allowed to exceed the capital; the property of the debtor, not his person, constituted the security for his debt. An Egyptian could borrow, giving his father's mummy as surety, and he who did not pay his debt was deprived of burial with his family.

The Egyptians successfully cultivated many industrial arts, as well as mechanics, geometry, and astronomy. They invented hieroglyphic writing, whose characters, at first simple figurative representations of objects or symbols of certain ideas, were completed by phonetic signs, which like our letters and syllables stood only for sounds. In painting they employed vivid colors, which time has not effaced. Some of their finest statues might rival those of Greece, did not a certain stiffness indicate a conventional art wherein liberty was lacking; but their architecture is unrivalled in its grand impressiveness. In proof are the temples of Thebes; the hall of Karnak, where the vault is supported by 140 colossal columns, many of which are seventy feet high and eleven feet in diameter; and the pyramids, one of which, 481 feet in height, is the most tremendous pile of stone ever heaped up by man. Further demonstration is furnished by the obelisks, the rock tombs,

the labyrinth, the enormous Sphinx, which measures twenty-six feet from the chin to the crown of the head, the dikes, the highways, the canals to contain or guide the waters of the Nile, and Lake Mœris. No people in ancient times moved so much earth and granite.

V

THE ASSYRIANS

The Tigris and the Euphrates. Babylon and Nineveh. — From the mountains of Armenia descend two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, whose sources lie near each other, and which, after uniting their waters, fall into the Persian Gulf. These two rivers embrace in their course a vast tract of country, mountainous on the north and flat and sandy in the centre and south, to which the general name of Mesopotamia is applied. Its first inhabitants were: in Chaldæa, or the southern part, those Cushites with whom we are already acquainted; toward the mountains, Turanian tribes, which perhaps made the great Hyksos invasion along the banks of the Nile; in the centre, Semitic peoples of a white race whose origin is unknown, but who are famous in history as the Assyrians, Hebrews, Arabs, and Phœnicians.

In this country rose two splendid cities, Babylon on the Euphrates and Nineveh on the Tigris, each in turn the capital of the Assyrian Empire. Nothing in antiquity is so celebrated as Babylon, whose walls measured a circuit of twenty leagues, and rose three or four hundred feet high. The Chaldæan priests ascribed to it an antiquity of four hundred thousand years, but Genesis fixes its foundation within the historical period, where also it places the origin of the Hebrews. It ascribes the building of Babylon to Nimrod, the mighty hunter. His descendants reigned there until the time of the great Iranian migration, which bore one body of Aryans toward the Indus, and another to the middle of Persia. Those who took the latter direction arrived at Babylon, but did not rule there long, and Assyria reverted to her first masters. The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty held her in subjection for more than two centuries, and Arab chiefs, as their vassals, reigned on the banks of the Euphrates. When the decline of Egypt began with the twentieth dynasty, the Assyrian princes freed

themselves, and became conquerors in turn. All the country between the Euphrates and the Lebanon recognized their sway. On the east of the Tigris, Media became their vassal province. If we are to believe the Chaldean priest Berosus, they penetrated to Bactriana and India. The monuments begin to give us certain information only with the ferocious Assurnazirpal and his son, Shalmaneser, whose war against the Hebrews and whose victory over Hosea, king of Israel, are recorded in the Bible. A successor of these princes had for his queen Semiramis, who was left at his death sole mistress of the empire. She enlarged Babylon, constructed quays and hanging gardens, and surrounded the city with a wall forty-two miles long and broad enough for six chariots to pass abreast on top.

Sardanapalus was the last sovereign of the first Assyrian Empire. His excesses and effeminate life encouraged the Chaldaean Phul and the Median Arbaces to rebel. Not discouraged by four successive defeats, they succeeded finally in imprisoning the king in Nineveh. Rather than surrender, Sardanapalus caused a funeral pyre to be prepared, and flung himself into it with his wives and treasures. Nineveh was destroyed (789).

Second Assyrian Empire. — The Medes had regained their independence, and the Babylonians ruled over Assyria. His victory rendered Phul, their leader, sufficiently strong to resume the wars of the Ninevite kings against the nations west of the Euphrates, and to compel Menahem, king of Judah, to pay tribute. At his death, the Assyrians rebelled under Tiglathpileser, a descendant of their ancient kings, who conquered Babylon and set up a second Assyrian Empire (744 B.C.). The distant expeditions of this prince from Palestine to the Indus, the victory of Sargon at Rapha over the Ethiopian, Sabaco, the successes of Sennacherib, who rebuilt Nineveh (707), of Esarhaddon (681), who conquered Egypt, and of a new Sardanapalus, who subdued Asia Minor, show the might of the new empire. But it fell, like the first, before a coalition of the Babylonians and Medes. Sarac, its last king, following the example of Sardanapalus, threw himself and his treasures upon a funeral pile, and the victors, entering Nineveh, utterly destroyed the detested city (606). Wiped from the face of the earth for twenty-four centuries, no one knew even the site of its famous temples, when suddenly it reappeared in the world.

with its arts, its language, its customs, its civilization, all rescued from oblivion and attested by its numerous bas-reliefs and sculptures, which the Frenchman Botta discovered in 1844 at Mosoul, and which can now be wondered at in the Louvre.

Last Assyrian Empire. Capture of Babylon by Cyrus. — Babylon replaced Nineveh. Nebuchadnezzar, its king, won a glorious victory over the Egyptian Necho at Circesium. He destroyed Jerusalem (588), took Tyre after a siege of thirteen years, traversed Egypt as a conqueror, and adorned Babylon with magnificent monuments. His four successors reigned shamefully. Cyrus, king of the Persians, besieged Babylon and entered it by the bed of the Euphrates, which he had diverted from its channel (538). Instead of destroying the city, he made it one of his capitals. So did Alexander. The construction of Seleucia caused its abandonment by the Greek kings. To-day nothing is to be seen on the spot which it occupied except a heap of ruins, upon which the Arab rarely plants his tent, and which furnish a lair for the beasts of the desert. When the Parthians, and afterwards the Persians, raised the great Oriental Empire which the Romans were unable to overthrow, Ctesiphon was their royal residence. Each new sovereign authority gave birth to a new capital. Under the Arabian caliphs Bagdad was the queen of the Orient. It is still one of the great cities of the heir of the caliphs, the sultan of Constantinople.

Government, Religion, and Arts of Assyria. — The king of Nineveh or of Babylon was the absolute master of the life and possessions of his subjects. Such is the law of oriental monarchies. At least, on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the king was not considered a deity, as on the banks of the Nile. Neither were there any castes, nor even a hierarchy of classes. Assyrian society was that sort of promiscuous mass which is not displeasing to despotism, because it permits the prince to raise or degrade whomsoever he sees fit.

At the base of the religion of these peoples, the idea of a single God can be descried; but there also this idea was concealed by a throng of secondary divinities, who are always the personification of some force of nature. In those immense plains of Chaldæa, where the horizon extends so far, under that cloudless sky, and during those

nights which the Orient makes so beautiful, because the stars shine there with a brilliancy unknown to us, the dominating worship was Sabianism, or the adoration of the stars. The sun, Baal, was the great god of the Assyrians, and in the celestial bodies they located spirits which exercised upon man and upon his destiny a powerful influence. Thus their priests had a great reputation as astronomers. To them we owe the zodiac, the division of the circle into 360 degrees, and that of the degree into sixty minutes, the calculation of lunar eclipses, the so-called table of Pythagoras, and a system of measures, weights, and money which served nearly all the commerce of the ancient world, since it was employed by the Phœnicians and the ancient Greeks. To them also we owe astrology, whereby they developed a lucrative trade through the sale of talismans or consecrated signs, supposed to give their possessors magical powers. The common people found the objects of their adoration nearer at hand. They had fish gods, like Oannes and Derceto, or bird gods, like the doves which typified Semiramis. The worship of Mylitta, the goddess of generation and fecundity, gave rise to abominable disorders by sanctifying the grossest sensual appetites.

The inhabitants, by their industry, their skilful agriculture, and their commerce, which two magnificent rivers favored, accumulated prodigious riches in this empire, so long the rival of the empire of the Pharaohs. The carpets of Babylon, its textile fabrics, its enamelled potteries, its amulets and canes, and its thousand objects of the goldsmith's art, were in great demand, even in the Roman Empire. The Assyrian sculptures reveal a degree of skill hardly suspected. Herodotus, visiting Egypt in the time of its full splendor, believed that the Greeks had derived their art and gods from the banks of the Nile. We now know that in the depths of Asia the origin of their religious ideas must be sought. Probably through Cilicia and Asia Minor Assyrian art reached the Greek Asiatic colonies, and from them awoke the genius of artists in the mother country. More than one sculpture at Athens recalls forms on the monuments of Khorsabad. The figures of Selinus, and even in a certain degree the marbles of Egina, seem to have been touched by the Ninevites.

VI

THE PHŒNICIANS

Phœnician Cities between Lebanon and the Sea. — Between the Euphrates and the western sea stretch the desert, which belonged to the Semitic nomads, and the Lebanon, the fertile valleys of which became the habitation of numerous Canaanitish tribes who originally occupied the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Phœnicians, near kinsmen of the Hebrews, the most famous of all these tribes, established themselves in the country of the Jordan, and on the farther side of the mountain chain on the narrow strip of coast which is bathed by the Mediterranean. The conquests of Joshua gave the valley of the Jordan to the Hebrews. Hemmed in between the mountains, whose venerable forests furnished the timber for the construction of ships, and the sea, which formed numerous harbors and invited to navigation and commerce, the Phœnicians became skilful mariners, both from necessity and natural situation. Their ships ploughed the Mediterranean. Population increased with general prosperity, and cities multiplied. Soon, both for the interests of commerce and to relieve the congestion of population, it became necessary to plant colonies at a distance. The most widely known of Phœnician cities were Sidon, whose glassware and purple were celebrated; Tyre, which held the highest rank; Aradus, Byblos, and Berytus. We learn from Holy Writ what luxury and effeminacy and what an impure and often sanguinary religion reigned in Phœnicia. Mothers burned their children alive in honor of Baal-Moloch, and the utmost license was approved by their chief goddess, Astarte.

Phœnician Commerce and Colonies. — But the Phœnicians offset their vices by industry and commerce, and above all by those colonies which so contributed to the expansion and progress of civilization. They established themselves in the Ægean islands long before the Greeks; founded counting-houses in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Sicily; and profited

by the commerce of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia. In the fifth century they still possessed in Sicily the three cities of Motya, Selinus and Panormus. In Gaul the traces of their settlement vanished early, but they covered the whole south of Spain, then so rich in silver mines, with their colonies. On the African coast rose Leptis, Adrumetum, Utica, and Carthage, the new Tyre, which became the most powerful maritime state of antiquity, and forced the neighboring Phœnician colonies to acknowledge its supremacy. While Carthage thus monopolized the commerce of the western Mediterranean, the Phœnicians of the mother country shared with the Greeks that of the eastern Mediterranean, and endeavored to form closer relations with the countries washed by the Indian Ocean. They forced the Jews to cede to them two ports on the Red Sea, Eliath and Eziongeber, whence their fleets sailed to seek ivory and gold dust in the land of Ophir, incense and spices in Arabia Felix, the most beautiful pearls then known in the Persian Gulf, and in India a thousand precious wares. For them numerous caravans traversed Babylonia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, and Thibet, whence they brought back the silk of China, which sold for its weight in gold, the furs of Tartary, and the precious stones of India. They added to this commerce the products of their national industry in glass, purple, and a thousand articles of attire.

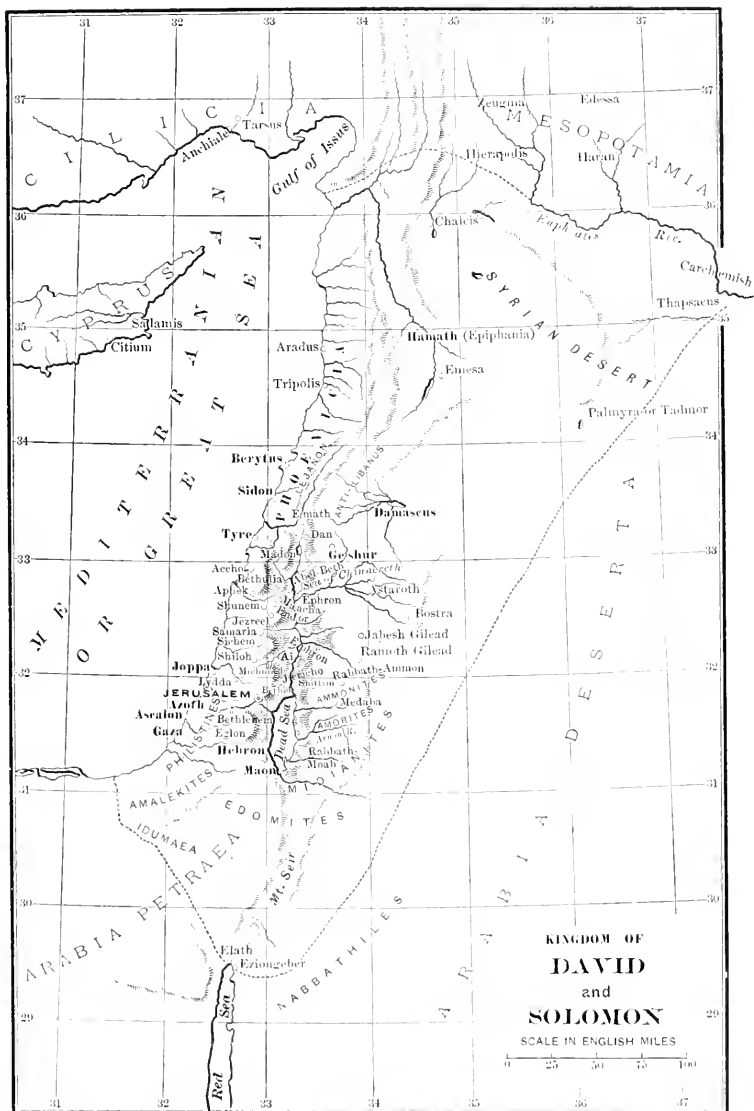
Conquerors of Phœnicia. — This prosperity of Phœnicia excited the cupidity of invaders. She was conquered by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. The Assyrians many times appeared under the walls of Tyre, which was taken by Sennacherib, almost ruined by Nebuchadnezzar, and destroyed by Alexander. Phœnicia found herself almost lost in the vast empires of the Persians, the Seleucidæ, and the Romans; but, placed between two great centres of civilization, Egypt and Assyria, she took from them and carried to the West whatever they had best developed. She diffused something of the art, the industry, the science, of those two nations. Above all she took from Babylon a metric system, the necessary agent of commerce, and from Memphis the idea and form of alphabetical writing, which so many peoples have copied and modified, and which has been the indispensable instrument of intellectual progress.

VII

THE HEBREWS

Ancient Traditions. — At the head of their race, the Hebrews place Abraham, who came from Chaldæa, perhaps two thousand years before Christ, and settled in the land of Canaan; Isaac, son of the patriarch; and Jacob, the father of twelve sons, whose posterity formed the twelve tribes of Israel. The touching story is well known of Joseph, one of the twelve, whom his brethren sold to Egyptian merchants. By dint of wisdom and tact the Hebrew slave attained the highest honors, became the minister of a Pharaoh, and called to him his family, whom he established in the land of Goshen between the Nile and the Red Sea.

In this fertile district the Hebrews multiplied without mixing with the Egyptians, who eventually looked upon this foreign race with distrust, and treated them like the captives brought back by the Pharaohs from their distant conquests. They tried to compel them to abandon pastoral life and to shut themselves up in cities. They forced them to build the cities of Rameses, Pithon, and On; they made them work on the canals and on the constructions of every sort with which Egypt was being covered. The Israelite traditions assert that, in order to diminish their numbers, which increased in spite of every hardship, the Pharaohs commanded that all male infants should be killed at birth. An Israelitish woman of the tribe of Levi, after having hidden her child for three months, exposed it on the Nile in a basket of bulrushes at the spot where the daughter of Pharaoh was in the habit of bathing. The princess heard the cries of the infant and took pity on it. He was called Moses, or the "drawn out," because he had been drawn from the waters. He was reared by his adopted mother in the royal palace, and instructed in all the learning of the Egyptian priests. However, his own mother had revealed to him his origin, and one day he killed an Egyptian whom he saw beating a Hebrew. Forced to flight by this murder,





he escaped to Jethro, in the extreme south of Arabia Petræa, where he found again the ancient belief of his fathers, pure and simple manners, and the patriarchal life of Abraham and Jacob. He returned to Egypt, resolved to deliver his people "from the house of bondage," and led the Hebrews back to the desert with their herds.

Religious and Civil Legislation. — They wandered long in the solitudes of Arabia, where the majesty of the one God everywhere is revealed. Mount Sinai was consecrated by the promulgation of the civil and religious law, and Moses tried to chain his people to the precious dogma of the oneness of God by numerous ordinances which imparted to the Hebrew laws an incomparable superiority over every system of legislation. Instead of the distinction of castes, which moreover cannot be enforced in the desert, the Hebrews had the equality of citizens before God, before the law, and, in a certain measure, before fortune. In the sabbatical year, and at the jubilee which occurred, the one at the end of every seven years, the other at the end of forty-nine years, the slave was emancipated, debt was outlawed, and alienated property was restored to its former owner. The leaders of the Jews sprang from the people. If their priesthood became hereditary, inasmuch as always restricted to the tribe of Levi, the priests possessed only the inheritance of poverty. In the ancient world society reposed on slavery, but the Jews had servants rather than slaves. Elsewhere the legislator disregarded the poor and repelled the stranger. Here the law distinguished in favor of the poor. It prohibited usury, enjoined alms, prescribed charity, even toward animals, and was kindly to the stranger. Thus everything which the ancient world degraded and rejected, the Mosaic law exalted. In this society, the stranger was no longer an enemy, the slave was still a man, and woman took her seat worthily beside the head of the family, enjoying the same respect.

Moral Grandeur of Hebrew Legislation. — In the Decalogue, or summary of the entire moral code, human and divine, in ten commandments, we read: "Thou shalt have none other gods before me." "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long." "Thou shalt not steal." "Thou shalt not kill." "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house . . . nor anything that is thy neighbor's."

In the law we find these beautiful and touching precepts: "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." "Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all under me, I will surely hear their cry." "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." "Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." "When ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field . . . neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyards; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger." "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man." "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk."

Conquest of Palestine. The Judges. The Kings (1097 B.C.). — Moses wished his people to return to the land which Abraham had chosen wherein to pitch his tent. Joshua, his successor, crossed the Jordan, destroyed Jericho, and divided the land of Canaan among the twelve tribes of Israel.

At his death the political bond broke which held the tribes together, and the government of the elders was too feeble to complete the conquest of the country or to repulse the attacks of neighboring kings. Hence ensued periods of servitude, from which the Hebrews were rescued by strong and brave men, who after the victory remained their judges, thus erecting in the midst of this patriarchal republic a sort of temporary monarchy. These heroes of Israel were Othniel; Ehud, who fought with both hands; Shamgar; the prophetess Deborah; Gideon, who scattered a whole army with three hundred men; Jephthah, who immolated his daughter in order to fulfil a rash vow; Samson, celebrated for his prodigious strength; the high priest Eli, under whom the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant, wherein was kept the book of the law; and, lastly, Samuel, who, despite his wise and just administration, was forced by the Hebrews to give them a king.

He chose Saul, a valiant man of the tribe of Benjamin, who seemed simple-minded and docile. He poured the holy oil of consecration on the head of the new prince, and deposited in the Ark a book wherein he had written down the rights and duties of the kingly office (1097 B.C.). At first Saul justified the prophet's choice by his moderation and victories. But rendered proud by success, he abandoned his rustic habits, surrounded himself by a body-guard of three thousand men, and shook off the yoke of the high priest. Samuel secretly anointed David, a Hebrew shepherd, and introduced him into the palace, that some day he might install him in the place of the unruly prince. The young shield-bearer of the king attracted the attention of all Israel by slaying the Philistine Goliath. Saul, consumed by jealousy, made several attempts to slay him with his javelin. When he himself fell in 1058 in a battle against the Philistines, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and a few years later the other ten tribes, recognized David as king of Israel.

For the time being no danger threatened from Egypt and Assyria. The little Hebrew state was able to develop and extend without encountering too formidable adversaries. Palestine, which had so often been the road of the conquerors, became a conqueror in her turn. The capture of Sion or Jerusalem, the destruction of the Philistines and the Moabites, numerous successes over all other neighboring peoples, territorial extension of the kingdom as far as the Euphrates on the north and as far as the Red Sea on the south, set forth in David the victorious prince. His regulations for worship, for the public administration, for justice, for the establishment of a numerous army, one-tenth of which was always under arms, and, lastly, the materials which he collected for the building of the temple, and the treaties of commerce concluded with Tyre, bear witness to his solicitude during peace. But a crime, the murder of Uriah, and the revolt of his son Absalom, saddened his last years. The Church still sings his sublime psalms.

Solomon, a peaceful prince, fond of splendor and civilization, governed from the recesses of his palace like the other kings of the East. At his accession (1019) he consolidated his power by bloody acts, reduced the high priesthood to dependence upon the king, so as to emancipate the sovereign from all equal opposing authority, and built with magnifi-

cence the temple at Jerusalem. He proved his wisdom by a famous decision, founded Palmyra in the heart of the desert, created a navy, and made alliances with Tyre and Egypt. His fame spread abroad, and the Queen of Sheba came to visit the great king of the East. But notwithstanding outward splendor, the provinces were being impoverished, and Solomon himself destroyed the foundation of his power by introducing idolatry into his palace. The Idumæans and Syrians revolted. His subjects rose in rebellion because of the growing burden of taxation, and he died in the midst of public misery (978).

The Schism and the Captivity. — His son, Rehoboam, refused to lessen the exactions of the royal treasury, and ten tribes seceded. Benjamin and Judah alone remained faithful to the house of David. From that time on there existed two nations, two kingdoms, Israel and Judah: Israel more populous, more extensive; Judah richer and more respected. Every year all Jews were bound to bring their offerings to the temple at Jerusalem. To prevent his new subjects from going to settle in the kingdom of Judah, which possessed the national sanctuary, Jeroboam erected two altars, one at Bethel and one at Dan. Hither his people came to sacrifice. This violation of the religious law prepared Israel for the introduction of idolatry, the establishment of which was also favored by the constant relations of its kings with the Syrians. Judah showed more respect to the Mosaic law. But there also idolatry made its way, and for its expulsion prophets were needed, fired by the double inspiration of religion and patriotism. Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Micah, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, by turns threatened and roused the Jews from despair by the promise of a glorious future.

The separation of the Hebrew people into two kingdoms ruined its power. After the schism it possessed only Palestine. Surrounded by enemies, the Hebrews engaged also in bloody civil wars, and after deplorable anarchy succumbed under the attacks of the Babylonians. The kingdom of Israel fell in 721, when King Hoshea, captured in Samaria, was carried by Sargon to Nineveh. Judah fell in 586, when Zedekiah, captured by Nebuchadnezzar, was dragged to Babylon, loaded with chains, and had his eyes put out after he had seen all his sons and the leaders of his people slain before his face.

The Jews under the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

—The captivity, which dates from the first capture of Jerusalem (606 B.C.) lasted for seventy years, until the edict of Cyrus, who in 536 permitted the Hebrews to rebuild their Temple. Zerubbabel was accompanied by forty-two thousand Jews in his return to the ruins of the holy city. The work of construction, stopped under Cambyzes through the jealousy of the Samaritans, was continued with ardor under Darius, who is, perhaps, the Ahasuerus of Scripture. In 516 the Temple was finished. Under Artaxerxes Longimanus, Esdras conducted to Jerusalem another great company of Jews, and brought the people back to the faithful observance of the Mosaic commands. About the same time Nehemiah again raised the walls of the city of David. Thus the nation had recovered its law, its Temple, its capital, and all the energy of its religious patriotism. Unfortunately, many persons, whom Esdras and Nehemiah expelled for lawlessness, took refuge with the Samaritans, and built upon Mount Gerizim a temple to rival that at Jerusalem. Judæa was generally quiet under the Persians. After the siege of Tyre Alexander came to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice in the Temple, and exempted the country from taxation during the sabbatical year. After his death the Jews remained for nearly a century subject to the kings of Egypt. Ptolemy II. Philadelphus even placed their sacred books in the famous library of Alexandria, having caused them to be translated by learned men, whose work has remained famous as the Septuagint Version. Ptolemy Philopator persecuted them; so they passed gladly, though with no greater security, under the rule of the kings of Syria. Seleucus IV. sent his minister, Heliodorus, to strip the Temple of its riches, and Antigonus IV. placed upon the very altar the statue of Jupiter Olympius.

This attempt to install Greek polytheism in the sanctuary of the only God brought about a formidable insurrection. After being delivered by the heroic family of the Maccabees, the Jews endured the most cruel vicissitudes during two centuries, sometimes free under their own kings, sometimes subject to the Romans, often disturbed by the quarrels of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the two rival political and religious sects. In the time of Augustus they formed, under the cruel Herod, a flourishing state, whose existence Rome respected for several years. Then it was that Jesus was born, and four years before the death of Tiberius began

to preach his holy doctrine. The Jews, who had become Roman subjects, revolted during the last days of Nero. Thirteen hundred thousand men perished in that supreme struggle for fatherland and religion. Jerusalem was reduced to ruins, the Temple was destroyed, and the dispersion began (70 A.D.).

The Jews, a stiff-necked people, as their prophets declared, did nothing for art, science, or industry, but their moral laws were the most elevated and their religious doctrine the purest the world has seen. At the cost of cruel sufferings they preserved the priceless doctrine of divine unity. Their ancient law, transformed by Jesus, has become the law of charity and fraternal love which should govern mankind.

VIII

THE MEDES AND PERSIANS

Mazdeism. — We have seen that Bactriana and Sogdiana were the cradle of numerous white tribes which, under the name of Aryans, emigrated to the southeast toward the Indus, and under that of Iranians went toward Media and Persia. Perhaps a religious schism caused the separation of this great race. At all events, the Medes and Persians carried to their new country a doctrine which differed profoundly from that afterwards prevalent upon the banks of the Ganges. They recognized as their legislator Zoroaster, who seems to have lived fifteen centuries before Christ, and whose teachings are contained in the Avesta, or sacred book of the Persians.

This doctrine, which is called Mazdeism, or universal knowledge, is the purest and mildest with which polytheistic antiquity was acquainted. Zervane Akerene, the first principle, eternal, infinite, immutable, immobile, created Ormazd, the lord of knowledge or wisdom, the source of light and of life like his emblem the sun, the author of all good, all justice, and Ahriman, his enemy, the principle of physical and moral evil. Each of them commands a hierarchy of celestial and infernal spirits who labor to extend the empire of their chief: the former by disseminating light, life, purity, happiness; the latter by multiplying malevolent animals and pernicious influences. But a day will come when Ahriman, finally vanquished, will recognize his defeat, and reascend to Ormazd to enjoy with him a life of blessedness, together with all the wicked who have been enticed by him into evil and whom suffering shall have purified. Thus the goodness of Ormazd is eternal and boundless; the wickedness of Ahriman is limited to the time of ordeals, which prepare for and justify redemption. The compassion of God, therefore, exceeds his justice, and the hell of the Persians was only a purgatory.

Man, created with a free and immortal soul, is the prize

for which the two warring principles contend. As the devas of Ahriman ceaselessly urge him to evil, Zoroaster has given him the law of Ormazd to preserve him for the good. This law is humane and mild. It recognizes the rights of life while proclaiming those of heaven. It demands faith, but also works, as labor, alms, and moral and physical purity. It rejects barren asceticism and permits interest in earthly things, so that man, satisfying the legitimate demands of his nature without excess, has the greater merit in resisting natural temptations. "If a man eat," says the revealed book, "he will listen better to the sacred word; if he do not eat, he will have no strength for pure works." Work is a holy thing: "Plough and sow. He who soweth with purity fulfilleth the whole law. He who giveth good grain to the earth is as great as if he had offered ten thousand sacrifices." The believer must pay the same care to the earth which nourishes him and to the animals which serve him. Common affection results from community of labor. Finally, marriage is a sacred bond, and numerous children are a blessing.

Worship required prayers and an offering, consisting of animal's flesh, of the sap of certain plants, and of sacred cakes, which after the sacrifice are consumed by the priest and attendants. The sacred fire, the vase of elevation, the vestments of the celebrant, all the utensils of sacrifice, are provided for by the priests, who are the interpreters of the religious law, which they expound to the faithful. Prayer is frequent. There is a prayer for every act in life. Thereby the living are saved and the punishment of the dead diminished and their deliverance secured. Prayer must be made to Ormazd and to the celestial spirits, the *izeds*, who wage incessant war with the devas of Ahriman. One must "pray to the sun, the brilliant and vigorous courser which never dies," the sun which purifies the earth and the waters, and bestows abundance. "If it did not rise, the devas would destroy everything upon the earth, and there would be no celestial *izeds*." One must pray by day and also by night, for at night Ahriman keeps watch, and he is all-powerful. "Rise then at midnight, wash thy hands, fetch wood and feed the fire which must always shine as symbol of the presence of Ormazd at each hearth." Prayer is sometimes a confession, but made to God and not to man. "Before thee, O Father! I confess the sins which

I have committed in thought, in word, and in action. God have pity on my body and on my soul, in this world and in the next."

Unfortunately, man too often ignores his creed to obey his passions. The followers of this pure doctrine have inflicted on the world as many evils as have done adherents of other religions. Nevertheless, they never seem to have become as brutal and depraved as the peoples who sought their gods in physical ideas of fecundity and generation, or in the phenomena of active and passive nature.

We know nothing of the children of this race who remained on the banks of the Oxus in Sogdiana and Bactriana. Thanks to the narratives of the Greeks and the cuneiform inscriptions, we are better acquainted with the Medes. Through the Persians the connection was formed between Asia and Europe which since their wars with the Greeks has not been broken.

The Medes. — Nevertheless, our details as to Media are very late. They begin only in the eighth century before our era, when Arbaces, who governed that country for the Assyrian kings, revolted successfully against Sardanapalus (789). From the long anarchy following their emancipation, the Medes were rescued by Dejoces. He proclaimed himself king (710), built Ecbatana, and reigned fifty-three years in profound peace. His son, Phraortes (657), rendered the Persians tributary, but was slain by a king of Nineveh. Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, avenged him by attacking that city, which was rescued by an invasion of the Scythians. These barbarians ravaged Western Asia for twenty-eight years. The Median king rid himself of their chiefs by causing their throats to be cut at a banquet, overthrew Nineveh in 606, and subdued Asia Minor as far as the Halys. An eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, prevented a battle which he was on the point of engaging in with the Lydians (602).

Under Astyages, his successor (595), this great dominion of the Medes crumbled away. This prince had given his daughter Mandana to a Persian chieftain, Cambyses, and from this marriage Cyrus was born. A dream caused Astyages, says Herodotus, to fear that his grandson would some day dethrone him, so he ordered Harpagus to put him to death. A herdsman saved the child and brought him up in secret. Later on, his grandson was acknowledged

by Astyages. Angry with Harpagus, Astyages put Harpagus' own son to death, and had a portion of the body served to the father at a banquet. The courtier controlled himself, but waited for revenge.

The Persians under Cyrus. Conquest of Western Asia. — The Persians, poor and warlike mountaineers, wished for independence. Cyrus, on reaching manhood, offered to be their chief, and led them against the Medes, whom Astyages had placed under the orders of Harpagus. The treachery of that general assured the defeat of his troops. In a second battle Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and the dominion of Asia passed from the Medes to the Persians (559). The conqueror, profiting by the ardor of his followers, overran the countries in the vicinity of the Caucasus, and attacked the Lydians, who ruled between the Halys and the Ægean Sea. Their king, Cræsus, after defeat in the plains of Thymbria, shut himself in Sardis, where he was taken alive. Babylon fell eight years later (538). The Greek colonies in Asia Minor, together with Phœnicia and Palestine, were added to the new empire. The Scythians were devastating its northern provinces. Cyrus attacked them on the banks of the Araxus, gained one victory, but perished in a second battle (529). Nevertheless, the enemy were not strong enough to invade Persia in their turn, and Cambyses was able to continue in another direction the conquests of his father.

The Persians under Cambyses and Darius. — Cambyses undertook to subdue Africa, beginning with Egypt, the last great monarchy which Cyrus had left standing. It fell in a single battle (527). The conqueror then wished to attack Carthage, but for such an expedition a fleet was necessary, which the Phœnicians refused to furnish. An army, sent against the oasis of Ammon, perished in the desert; another, led against the Ethiopians, suffered from famine, and returned in disgrace. Cambyses revenged himself for these reverses by cruelties of which the priests of Egypt and his own family were the victims. He put both his brother and sister to death. Recalled to Asia by a revolution, he accidentally injured himself while mounting his horse, and died of the wound (522).

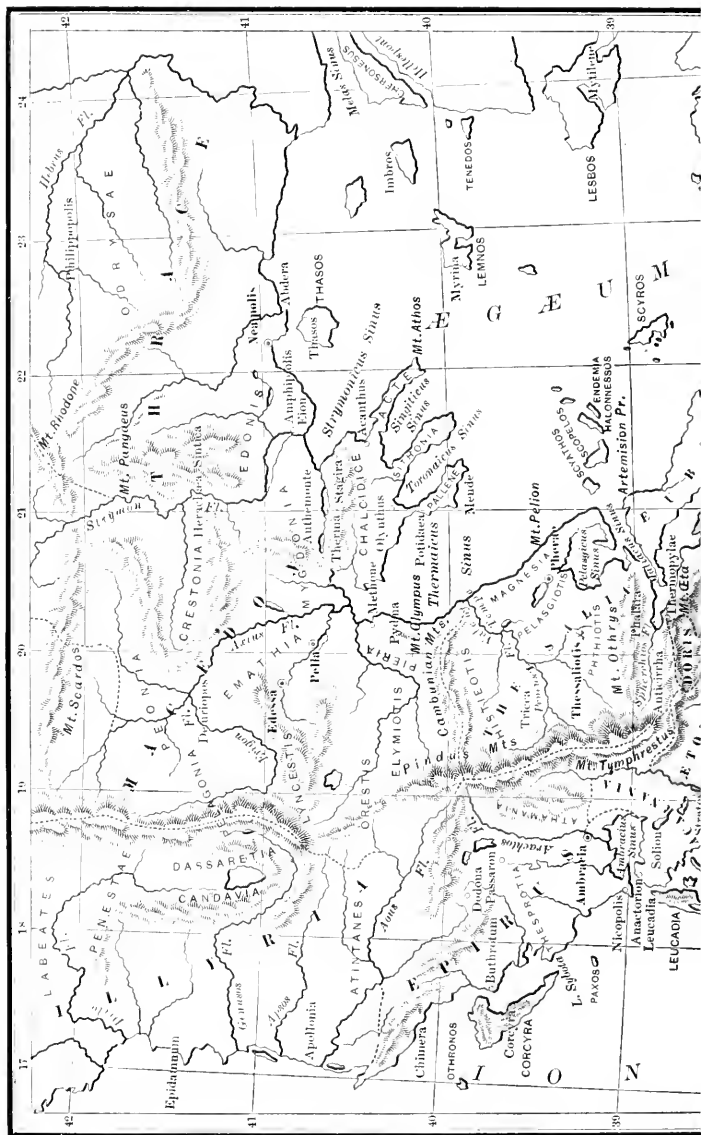
The rebellion which had broken out was a reaction of the Medes against the Persians. A magian, Smerdis, passed himself off as the brother of Cambyses, whom he resembled,

and was the principal conspirator. Seven Persian noblemen replied to this attempt by another conspiracy, stabbed the magian, and proclaimed as king one of their own number, Darius, the son of Hystaspes. The usurpation of the magian had shaken the whole empire. A cuneiform inscription recently deciphered proves that Darius was obliged to put down successive rebellions in all the eastern provinces. Of all these insurrections we know in some detail only that of Babylon, which Herodotus has narrated. It is rendered famous by the self-sacrifice of Zopyrus. He mutilated himself to induce the Babylonians to admit him to their city as a victim who sought only revenge, but who afterward betrayed them (517).

To assure the collection of the taxes and the support of his regular troops, Darius divided into twenty satrapies the immense country comprised between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the deserts of Africa, Arabia, and India. To occupy the warlike spirit of the Persians he resumed the expedition begun by Cyrus against the Scythians, but attacked them in Europe rather than in Asia. He crossed the Bosphorus, passed over the Danube on a bridge of boats which the Asiatic or Thracian Greeks had constructed and guarded, and pushed on far in vain pursuit of the Scythians. As the time fixed for his returning to the Danube had elapsed, the Athenian, Miltiades, proposed to destroy the bridge, and thus leave the Persian army to perish. Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, opposed this plan, representing to the chiefs, all of whom were tyrants of Greek cities, that they would be overthrown if they no longer had the support of the foreigner. Thus Darius was saved. On his return the king left 80,000 men to complete the conquest of Thrace and to undertake the conquest of Macedon. He despatched two other expeditions to the extremities of the empire (509). The first subdued Barca in Cyrenaica, and the second overran other lands bathed on the west by the Indus.

The Persian Empire was then at the apogee of its greatness. From the Indus to the Mediterranean, from the Danube and Araxes to the Indian Ocean, all owned the sway of the great king, and he was about to throw a million men upon Greece. But the Greco-Persian wars will show what feebleness existed under this outward show of strength.

Government. — The government was despotic, tempered, perhaps, in the case of the Medes, by the authority of the magi, but without other check in the Persian Empire than the exaggerated power of the satraps, whose number Darius had imprudently reduced to twenty. Moreover, the central power did not assume the responsibility of administration. Provided the provinces paid their taxes in money or kind and furnished the contingents exacted, they preserved their independence. The great Asiatic courts have always loved effeminacy and luxury. The Persians became corrupt, like their predecessors, in spite of the superiority of their religion, which taught that life should be a continual struggle against evil. They erected few monuments. But the ancients vaunted the magnificence of Ecbatana, the seven-walled city, and modern travellers have been able to admire the imposing ruins of Persepolis, which the Arabs call Tehil-Minar, or the Forty Columns.



HISTORY OF THE GREEKS



I

PRIMITIVE TIMES

Ancient Peoples: the Pelasgi and Hellenes. — Greece is a very small country. It occupies the extremity of one of the three peninsulas which terminate Europe on the south. Its territory, inclusive of the islands, does not equal that of Portugal or of the State of Maine; but its shores are so indented that its coast line exceeds that of the whole Spanish peninsula. On the north it is attached to the prolonged mass of the eastern Alps, which form one of the walls of the Danube valley. On the south at three points it projects into the Mediterranean. The sea separates it on the west from Italy and on the east from Asia.

As far as one can pierce the obscurity of those remote ages, apparently the first inhabitants of Greece were the Pelasgi and the Iaones, or Ionians, members of the great Aryan race.

The Pelasgi covered with their tribes Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and planted in those countries the first seeds of civilization. In their monuments they have left imperishable proofs of their activity and power, but they themselves have disappeared, and no trustworthy tradition concerning them exists. At Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Argos the remains of structures, called cyclopean and attributed to them, are still seen.

By the unaided efforts of her aborigines Greece was emerging from a savage condition, when, according to traditions now abandoned, but rendered lifelike by legend and poetry, colonies arrived from the more civilized countries of Asia and Africa, who brought with them knowledge of the useful arts and a purer religion. Thus the Egyptian

Cecrops, disembarking in Attica, is said to have collected the inhabitants into twelve small towns, of which Athens became later on the capital, and to have taught them to cultivate the olive, to extract its oil, and to till the ground. To draw closer the bonds of this new society, he is said to have instituted the laws of marriage and the tribunal of the Areopagus, whose just decisions prevented injurious quarrels.

What Cecrops did in Attica, Cadmus is reported to have done in Bœotia, whither he brought the Phœnician alphabet, and where he built the Cadmeum around which Thebes sprang up. At Argos Danaus introduced some of the Egyptian arts. The Phrygian Pelops settled in Elis, whence his progeny spread over almost the whole peninsula, which, as the Peloponnesus, preserves his name. Though only legends, these traditions hand down the memory of the ancient relations between Greece and the opposite coasts.

For Greece the most important event of this far-distant age was the invasion of the Hellenes. From the north of Greece, their first halting-place, they scattered all over the country, and effaced the Pelasgi by absorbing them.

Heroic Times. The Trojan War.—The Hellenes were divided into four tribes: the Ionians and Dorians, who at first remained in obscurity, and the Æolians and Achæans, who were prominent during the heroic period. History had not yet begun. Tradition was content with legends, which describe heroes travelling over Greece to deliver her from the scourge of brigands, oppressors, and ferocious beasts. They passed their lives in combating every form of evil, and received national gratitude and the title and honors of demi-gods, but were slaves to their own passions and abused their strength. Such men were Hercules and Theseus. Also popular songs celebrated the adventurous voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece; the exploits of the Seven Chiefs, who besieged Thebes, defiled by the crimes of Œdipus and the quarrels of the Epigoni, his sons; the wise Minos, and many other heroes of those fabulous days, whose tragic adventures poetry and art have consecrated.

The Trojan War, which for the first time brought Greece into immediate conflict with Asia, is, if considered in its general features, a historic fact. Troy was the capital of a powerful kingdom in the northwest of Asia Minor and

the last relic of the Pelasgic power. The hostility of race was increased by a deadly injury. Paris, one of the sons of King Priam, was smitten by the beauty of Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, who had shown him hospitality. He carried her off, and thus enraged all Greece, which took the part of the outraged husband. An immense fleet, led by his brother, Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, landed a numerous army on the shores of the Troad. No decisive engagement took place for ten years. Troy, defended by Hector, the son of Priam, seemed likely to maintain a prolonged resistance, even after her chieftain had fallen under the blows of Achilles. The Greeks, then called the Achæans, employed stratagem. Pretending to withdraw, they left behind as an offering to the gods a mammoth wooden horse, which the Trojans carried inside their walls. The bravest of the Greeks were hidden in its flanks. Thus Troy fell. Hecuba, wife of Priam, and her daughters were carried into slavery. Priam was slain at the foot of the altar. Those of the Achæan princes who had not already fallen, like Patroclus, Ajax, and Achilles, set out for their own country. Some of them perished on the way. Some, like Ulysses, were long held back by contrary winds. Still others, like Agamemnon, found their throne and marriage-bed occupied by usurpers, whose victims they became. Many others, like Diomedes and Idomeneus, were forced to seek a new home in distant regions. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* relate with incomparable charm these old legends in which the popular imagination delighted.

The Dorian Invasion (1104 B.C.). Greek Colonies and Institutions. — The eighty years which followed the capture of Troy were filled with domestic quarrels, which overthrew the ancient royal families and caused the power to pass to new hands. The Dorians, led by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, invaded the Peloponnesus, surprised defenceless Laconia, drove the Æolians from Messenia and the Achæans from Argos, took possession of Corinth and Megara, and later on marched against Athens, whither the fugitives had retreated. An oracle promised victory to that party whose king should perish first. Codrus, king of Athens, entered the hostile camp in disguise and caused himself to be slain. Thereupon the Dorians immediately withdrew. On account of the troubled times many inhabitants emigrated. On the coast of Asia Minor at Smyrna, Phocæa,

Ephesus, and Miletus, of Africa at Cyrene, of Sicily at Messina and Syracuse, and of Italy at Tarentum, Naples, and Sybaris, something like a new Greece was formed, which for a long time was richer and more beautiful than the mother country. In the Asiatic colonies, at the point of contact with Eastern society, was first established that civilization of which Athens afterward became the resplendent centre.

Despite its dispersion on so many shores and its division into so many states, the great Hellenic family preserved its national unity. This was brought about by community of language and religion, by the renown of certain oracles, and of Delphi in particular, whither people flocked from all parts of the Greek world, and by general institutions such as the Amphyctionic Councils and the Public Games. At the most celebrated of the Amphyctionic Councils, convened at Thermopylæ and Delphi, the deputies of a dozen peoples discussed common interests, and punished attacks upon the national religion or honor. The Olympian Games, where victory was passionately disputed, occurred every four years. They furnished the basis for chronology because, beginning with the year 776 B.C., the name of Corœbus, who won the prize of the stadium, was inscribed on the public register of the Elians, and it became customary to take the date of his victory as the starting-point in marking events.

II

CUSTOMS AND RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

Spirit of Liberty in Customs and Institutions.—In that mountainous land, where nature renders life a struggle, and which the free waters surround, has always breathed the spirit of independence, even in its most ancient traditions.

The kings were only military chieftains. When rendering justice, they were aided by the old men. Their revenues were voluntary gifts and a larger share of the booty and of the sacrifices. There is no trace of that servile adoration which Eastern monarchs received. There was no separate clergy and no holy book like the Bible, the Vedas, or the Avesta. Consecrated doctrines were lacking, and imagination was unrestrained. Every head of a family was the priest of his own home.

The aristocracy did not form a caste. The nobles were the strongest, the most agile, the bravest. Because they possessed those qualities, they were considered sons of the gods. Between them and the people there existed no impassable barrier, and no one lived idly on the renown of his ancestors. Each man made his own place, at first by force and later on by intelligence. What a distance from the East, with its absolute rule of deities or of kings and priests, their representatives! Here man commands! All must be movement, passion, boundless desires, audacious efforts. Prometheus has broken his chains and stolen fire from heaven in the form of life and thought!

Below the nobles, who constituted the king's council and held the line of the war-chariots in battle, was the body of freemen who, in the middle of the public square, formed the assembly around the circle of polished stones where the leaders sat with the prince. Though they took as yet no part in the deliberations, they heard all important questions discussed, and by their approving or hostile murmurs influenced the decision. Thus from most distant times Greece had the custom of public assemblies. The necessity

of convincing before commanding stimulated the mind of the people. The condition of the slave was mild. He was the family servant. When the aged herdsman Eumæus recognized his master's son, he kissed him on the brow and eyes, and the dying Alcestis offered her hand to her women as she bade them her last farewell.

The family was better constituted than among any oriental nation, the Jews alone excepted. Polygamy was prohibited. If Greek women were still bought, more than one already possessed the severe dignity of the Roman matron. They exercised care over domestic affairs. The daughters of kings drew water at the fountain like the fair Nausicaa, and Andromache fed the horses of Hector.

The Greek had no liking for tedious repasts or coarse pleasures or drunkenness. Immediately after a frugal meal he wished for games, exercise, dances, bards to chant the glory of the heroes. A stranger at his door was received without indiscreet curiosity, "for the guest is the messenger of Zeus." His wrath was terrible. On the field of battle he did not spare the fallen enemy. Still he might be appeased by gifts and entreaties, "those halting but tireless daughters of great Zeus, who follow after wrong to heal the wounds it has made, and who know how to touch the hearts of the valiant." Each warrior, feeling the need of friends, had a brother-in-arms, and self-sacrifice was the first law of those indissoluble friendships. Ten years after his return to Lacedæmon Menelaus still shut himself up in his palace to mourn for the friends whom he had lost under the walls of Troy.

Later on two unpleasant traits were naturally developed in Greek character: venality, because the Greeks were poor and the East had gold in profusion; duplicity, because they were surrounded by barbarians and must resist force by cunning.

We must furthermore remark that, though the amiable and charming qualities we have mentioned caused among this people many instances of individual greatness through courage, poetry, art, and thought, yet they did not result in the durable greatness of the nation. Political sagacity, which knows how to conciliate conflicting interests and found great states, was not included among the gifts which this privileged race received or acquired.

Religion. — Their religion was, at first, only the natural-

ism brought by them from Asia which had been their cradle. At the side of the legends of the heroes and gods, we find the adoration of forests, mountains, winds, and rivers. Agamemnon invokes the latter as great divinities, and to one of them Achilles consecrated his hair. This nature worship outlived paganism. In modern Greece people may still be met who believe in spirits of the waters. Nature assumes imaginary and changing forms. When looked at through mental darkness, these speedily become, in the eyes of faith, realities which anthropomorphism seizes upon and converts into personal gods. Idealized physical forces seem to be spiritual beings, and these spiritual beings acquire a body. "God made man in his own image," says Genesis. The Greeks made their gods in the image of man. The conception is the same at bottom, and yet the difference is great, for the point of departure is, on the one hand, the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being, and on the other, the finiteness of humanity. Hence the scandals of Olympus, together with its grandeurs, and the unsavory history of those gods, who were subject to all human passions, wrath, hatred, violence, and even human woes. "Servitude," exclaims a poet, "why, Demeter endured it! The smith of Lemnos, and Poseidon, and Apollo of the silver bow, and Ares the terrible endured it also!" In the combats before Troy many are wounded. "Their blood flows," says Homer, "but a blood that resembles dew, a sort of divine vapor."

When the theodicy of later times had defined with precision the functions of the immortals, those who counted the greatest number of worshippers were the twelve great gods of Olympus. Their chief, the enfeebled representative of the ancient idea of a Supreme Cause, was Zeus, who still shook the universe with his frown. But there were many other divinities, since Greek polytheism, by raising to divine rank the phenomena of nature, the passions of men, good things and evil, was led to multiply the gods incessantly.

These gods, not always respectable, were, nevertheless, considered the vigilant guardians of justice. The Furies, inexorable ministers of their vengeance, attached themselves to the guilty, whether living or dead. Their hair interwoven with serpents, one hand armed with a scourge of vipers and the other brandishing a torch, they filled the soul with terror and the heart with torture. This deifica-

tion of remorse was all the more necessary as a moral sanction because this religion was as uncertain of the future life as was ancient Judaism. No doubt punishment awaited the criminal in the infernal regions, and the just were rewarded, but how empty the rewards! In the Elysian Fields, amid groves of fruit and flowers in a perpetual summer the souls of the blessed continued to enjoy the pleasures which they had loved on earth. Minos still sat in judgment as in his island of Crete; Nestor recounted his exploits; Tiresias uttered oracles, and Orion hunted the wild beasts which he had formerly slain on the mountains, all regretting their life the while. "Console me not for my death," said the shade of Achilles. "I would rather till the soil for some poor husbandman than reign here." Moreover this immortality is promised only to heroes. As for the masses, they can count only on the good and the ill of this present life which the gods deal out to them. There is a kinship between the members of the city as of the family. The sons will be punished or rewarded even unto the third generation for the faults and virtues of their fathers; peoples likewise for those of their kings, and kings for their peoples. Such is the blessing and the warning of Abraham; a precious belief in default of a more energetic spring of action, and one which Hesiod sets forth in magnificent verses.

The gods could be appeased by offerings and prayers. At the door of the temple stood the priest, sprinkling lustral water upon the hands and heads of the worshippers. The sacrifice, always celebrated in the open air, was a sacred banquet, a sort of religious communion between the god, the priests, and the devotees. In the centre of the temple rose the statue of the god, surrounded by the statues of deities or heroes whom he condescended to admit within his sanctuary. On the walls offerings and votive gifts were suspended in gratitude for some marvellous cure or unexpected deliverance. Relics of the heroes were preserved. At Olympia the shoulder of Pelops by contact healed certain maladies. At Tegæa the bones of Orestes rendered that city victorious as long as it possessed them. The statues of the gods exerted special influences; one cured colds, another the gout. The image of Hercules at Erythræ restored sight to a blind man. Often the images exuded perspiration, moved their arms and eyes, and rattled their

weapons. At Andros, annually on the festival of Bacchus, water was changed into wine. The temples possessed property which did not belong to the priests, and, like churches in the Middle Ages, many enjoyed the right of asylum. Private persons or cities could be excluded from the sacrifices. Whole nations, placed under the ban of excommunication, were exterminated, like the Albigenes in France.

All peoples have tried to wrest from the future its secrets. All have had sorcerers or magicians or augurs, like the Greeks who interpreted celestial signs, dreamers who beheld the invisible, or rhapsodists, like the Pythia of Delphi, who felt the god move within and gave forth his oracles. By a strange misconception the philosophers accepted this superstition. "God," said Plato, "has bestowed divination upon man to supply his lack of intelligence," and the generals and politicians were obliged to reckon with it. However, let us note Hector's indignant protest against these pretended voices from on high, which may deceive. "The best of omens," said he, "is to defend one's country."

If the Hellenic gods did not greatly influence the moral development of their worshippers, they did much for art and poetry, and they did not fetter philosophic thought. "You will die," was the apostrophe to them of Prometheus through the mouth of Æschylus in a century of faith, "and some day these nations will hear a voice crying, 'The gods are dead!'"

III

LYCURGUS AND SOLON

Sparta before Lycurgus. — We know almost nothing concerning the history of Sparta during the two centuries which preceded Lycurgus. Only we see that the Spartans, few in number in the midst of a people who had not emigrated at the time of conquest, were obliged to remain constantly under arms, like an army encamped in a hostile country. The Dorians concentrated around Sparta, and alone constituted the state, since they alone could be present at the assemblies where the laws were enacted, and alone held public office. They had two classes of subjects: in the open town the Laconians, who possessed civil rights; in the country the Helots, or serfs attached to the soil, condemned to plough and harvest for their masters. The Spartans composed the ruling race, and were all equal to one another.

However, this equality gradually became disturbed. Powerful families arose, while others lost their lands. Hence there was disorder within the city and weakness outside. One man attempted to stop this premature decline by restoring the ancient customs. This man was Lycurgus.

Lycurgus: His Political Ideas. — The widow of his brother, King Polydectes, offered him her hand and the Spartan throne if he would put his nephew Charilaus to death. He refused, but the nobles, irritated by his wise administration during the minority of the young prince, forced him into exile. He travelled for a long time, studying the laws of other nations, and returned to Lacedæmon with Homer's poems after an absence of eighteen years. With her religious authority the Pythia of Delphi supported the reforms which he proposed, and which the Spartans, weary of their dissensions, welcomed with favor. His laws maintained the relation already established between the dominant Spartans and the subject Laconians. They regulated the rights of the two kings, Sparta being a dual monarchy; of the

senate, composed of twenty-eight members of at least sixty years of age; of the general assembly, which could adopt or reject propositions presented by the senate and kings; and lastly of the Ephory, a body of magistrates appointed annually, perhaps instituted by Lycurgus, but whose great power dates from a later period. By hereditary right the two kings were the high priests of the nation, commanded the army, and were to enforce the decrees formulated by the senate and freely accepted by the popular assembly.

Civil Laws. — His civil laws aimed at the establishment of equality among the citizens. To effect this, he divided the land into 39,000 plots, — 30,000 for the Laconians and 9,000 for the Spartans. This division was attended with great difficulties, and led to a riot, in which Lycurgus was wounded; nevertheless, it succeeded. The 9,000 lots of the Spartans comprised the greater part of Laconia, and naturally included the most fertile lands, whose value the Helots were to increase. Forbidding the alienation to strangers of any of these lots, Lycurgus erected them into a sort of permanent military fiefs. War constantly diminished the number of the Spartans, so that they numbered only a thousand in the time of Aristotle. Consequently great wealth accumulated in the hands of a few families. The Laconians, on the contrary, could ally themselves with foreigners, so their number increased; but their possessions relatively decreased, and the time came when there was only a small number of rich people and below them a multitude of poor. Hence arose revolutions which disturbed the last days of Sparta.

To maintain equality, Lycurgus prohibited luxury and the use of gold or silver money, and instituted public repasts, where the strictest frugality always reigned. At the same time, he forbade to the Spartans commerce, arts, or letters, and prescribed for all the citizens the same exercises, setting forth as the single aim of their whole life to provide and train robust defenders for the country. The same principle guided the education of the children, who belonged far more to the state than to their parents. The child born deformed was put to death. The rest, by means of violent exercises, which were imposed also on the girls, acquired strength and suppleness, and all were inspired with sentiments of respect for old age and the law, and of contempt for pain and death.

The Messenian Wars. — Delivered from dissensions by this rigorous legislation, Sparta completed the conquest of Laconia, and began that of the Peloponnesus. She first turned her arms against the Messenians, a Doric tribe settled west of the Taygetus mountains. There were two wars; the one lasted twenty years (743-723), the other seventeen (685-668). The hero of the first was the fierce Aristodemus, who immolated his daughter in obedience to an oracle, and killed himself, that he might not witness the humiliation of his people after the capture of Ithome, which he had defended for ten years. In the second, Aristomenes performed marvels. Not only did he vanquish the Spartans, but he made his way by night into their city and hung up a trophy in one of their temples. In vain did the poet Tyrtaeus stimulate the courage of the Lacedæmonians. Aristomenes, after being made prisoner, and cast alive into the deep pit called Ceadas, escaped, and recommenced his daring career. When betrayed by his ally, the king of the Arcadians, and defeated in a great battle, he retired to Mount Ira and there held out for eleven years. At last he was forced to yield, but preferred exile to servitude. Many Messenians emigrated and founded Messina in Sicily. Those who remained in Messenia shared the fate of the Helots.

This conquest was followed by wars against the cities of Tegea and Argos, but neither was completely subdued. The Spartans, in the sixth century before our era, were considered the leading people of Greece, and were in fact the most formidable.

Athens until the Time of Solon. The Archonship. — After the death of Codrus, Athens abolished the monarchy and appointed archons. Their office until 752 was for life, then for ten years, after 683 for only one year, and finally was shared by nine magistrates. This divided authority could not check the excesses of the aristocracy or the projects of the ambitious. The stern code of Draco, which punished every offence with death, was rejected, and troubles continued.

Solon. — In 594 the task of reforming the laws and the constitution was intrusted to Solon, then famous for his poetry. He began by making the payment of debt easier, and by releasing all debtors, but he refused to allow the partition of land which the poor demanded. His aim was

to abolish an oppressive aristocracy, without, however, establishing what would be called to-day a radical democracy. He divided the people into four classes, according to property. To belong to the first class, one must possess an income of 500 medimni, about eighty-five dollars; for the second class, 400; for the third, 300. Those who had a smaller income were the fourth class, or Thetes. Only members of the first three classes were eligible to public office, but all might attend the public assemblies and sit in the tribunals. The nine archons, the supreme magistrates of the state, could not discharge military duties. The senate consisted of 400 members, chosen by lot from the first three classes, and subjected to severe tests. Every proposition, made to the public assembly, must be first discussed by it. The people confirmed the laws, nominated to office, deliberated on state affairs, and filled the courts in order to try great lawsuits. The Areopagus, composed of former archons, was the supreme tribunal for capital causes. It superintended morals and magistrates, and could even annul the decisions of the people. Thus this constitution was a clever mixture of aristocracy and democracy, where the management of public affairs was reserved to the enlightened citizens. In his civil laws Solon encouraged labor, and never, like Lycurgus, sacrificed the man to the citizen, or the moral code to politics.

The Pisistratidæ. Clisthenes. Themistocles. — After promulgating his laws, the Athenian legislator departed to consult the wisdom of the ancient Eastern nations. When he returned in 565, he found that Athens had given itself a master. The parties, which he had thought to stifle, had reappeared. From these fresh struggles had sprung the tyranny of Pisistratus, who, without abolishing the constitution, managed, as the favorite of the people and the leader of the democracy, to exercise in the city an influence which annulled that of the magistrates. His mild tyranny, however, was friendly to letters and arts. In 560, by pretending that an attempt had been made upon his life, he succeeded in having guards appointed for his protection. Twice exiled, he was twice recalled, and retained power until his death. He had honored, if not legitimized, his usurpation by a skilful and prosperous administration.

His two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, succeeded (528), and governed together; but when Hipparchus fell, in 514,

under the dagger of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Hippias became a cruel tyrant. The powerful family of the Alcmeonidæ, who had fled from Athens, thought the occasion favorable to overthrow the last of the Pisistratidæ. They bribed the Pythia of Delphi, who induced the Spartans to support them. Aided by a Dorian army, they did in fact return to Athens, and compel Hippias to flee to the Persians (510). The city, thus delivered, fell at once into intestine quarrels. Clisthenes and Isagoras, leaders of the people and of the aristocrats, banished each other in turn. The former finally carried the day, in spite of the succor furnished his rival by the Spartans. To reward the people who had supported him, he made the constitution more democratic, and established ostracism, a custom which consisted in exiling, as dangerous to the city, any citizen whose name was inscribed on at least 6000 voting shells. Athens, the mistress of Eubœa, the Thracian Chersonese, and the island of Lemnos, which Miltiades had conquered, was already a maritime power. To increase her strength, Themistocles built 200 vessels with the income of the silver mines of Larium. This fleet was destined to save Athens and Greece.

IV

THE PERSIAN WARS

Revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from the Persians (500). — Darius had undertaken his expedition against the Scythians, and had conquered Thrace, without the Greeks paying any heed to this formidable aggressor, who must inevitably be tempted to lay his hand upon their country also. The Asiatic Greeks, who were subject to Persia, struck a blow for liberty. Miletus, a colony of Athens, was the centre of the movement. It asked of the mother city the aid which Sparta had refused to give. Athens furnished vessels and a body of troops, which contributed to the capture and burning of Sardis. A defeat, sustained in their return from this expedition, disgusted the Athenians with the war, the burden of which then fell upon the Ionians, who were crushed in a naval battle. After Miletus was taken, and all the Greek cities of Asia were again subdued, a Persian army commanded by Mardonius crossed to Europe to chastise the allies of the rebels. The Persian fleet was destroyed by a tempest near Mount Athos, and the Thracians inflicted heavy losses upon the land forces, so Mardonius returned to Asia.

First Persian War. Marathon and Miltiades (490). — A second expedition, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, guided by the tyrant Hippias, set out by sea through the Cyclades, which it subdued, and disembarked 100,000 Persians at Marathon. There 10,000 Athenians and 1000 Plataeans, under the command of Miltiades, by their heroic courage saved not only their country, but the liberty and the civilization of the world. Hippias fell upon the field of battle. The Persian fleet, after a vain attempt to surprise Athens, sailed away in shame to Asia. Miltiades, the hero of that grand day, was commissioned to subdue the Cyclades, but he failed before Paros. Being accused of treason, he was condemned to a fine, which he could not pay, and died in prison of his wounds. Then Themistocles became the most influential man at Athens. He realized that the Per-

sians would renew their attempt. Taking advantage of an insurrection in Egypt, which forced Darius to postpone his revenge, he devoted all the resources of Athens to increasing the fleet.

Second Persian War. Salamis (480). — Xerxes succeeded Darius. After he had reduced Egypt once more to submission, he agitated his immense empire to make a resistless invasion of Greece with a million men and more than 1200 ships. On arriving from Susa at Abydos he threw a bridge across the Dardanelles. To punish Athos, as he said, he had a canal dug, which relieved his fleet of the necessity of sailing round that dangerous promontory. Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly were deluged with troops, and submitted. He encountered resistance only at the Pass of Thermopylæ. King Leonidas, who held it with 300 Spartans and a few Thespians, thwarted all his efforts, but a traitor showed the Persians a path by which they could outflank the heroic band. They still refused to retreat, and in the very camp of Xerxes sought a glorious death. After Thermopylæ had been forced, the Greek fleet could no longer remain off Artemisium, at the north of Eubœa, where it had anchored at first. It withdrew to Salamis, leaving Attica and central Greece defenceless. Xerxes entered Athens, which he burned. He believed the war was finished, but all Athens was on board her ships. Themistocles employed a stratagem to keep the Greeks together at a favorable point, and excited Xerxes to end all by a naval battle. From the throne erected for him on the shore the great king beheld the defeat and destruction of his fleet at the battle of Salamis. Six months after crossing the Hellespont as a conqueror, he repassed it as a fugitive.

Platæa (479). — He had, however, left Mardonius in Greece with 300,000 men. A hundred thousand Greeks collected at Platæa under the orders of Pausanias, king of Sparta. Of the barbarian host only a detachment escaped, which had retreated before the battle. On the same day the Greek fleet won a complete victory at Mycale on the Asiatic coast. Thus the European continent was purged from the barbarians, and the sea was free. Athens launched out upon it.

Continuance of the War by Athens. — To Athens belongs the chief honor in resisting the Persian invasion. Alone she had conquered at Marathon with Miltiades. At Salamis

her Themistocles had again assured the victory by forcing the allies to conquer in spite of themselves. The glory of Mycale belonged almost wholly to her, and she had shared that of Plataea. Sparta could cite only the immortal but futile self-sacrifice of Leonidas. The treachery of King Pausanias, whom the ephors had sent to Thrace to expel the Persian garrisons, and who treated secretly with Xerxes, completely disgusted Lacedæmon with this war. Athens, thus left alone at the head of the allies, boldly accepted the rôle of antagonist to the great king. She herself assumed the offensive. Soon, asking vessels and money from her allies instead of soldiers, she continued the struggle in the name of Greece, but on her own account and for her own advantage. She subdued Amphipolis and a part of Thrace, whither she sent 10,000 colonists, and undertook to free the Asiatic Greeks. Cimon in one day gained two victories, one by land and one by sea, near the banks of the Eurymedon (466). Thereby he secured for Athens the empire of the seas, and, taking possession of the Thracian Chersonese, he wrested from the Persians the key to Europe.

Last Victories of the Greeks. Cimon. — Artaxerxes Longimanus ascended the throne in 465, and beheld the shame of his empire still further increased. Another rebellion in Egypt threatened the Persian monarchy with dismemberment. The Athenians hastened to aid the rebels, who held out for seven years. The banishment of Cimon, who was ostracized, and the rivalry of Sparta and Athens, which led to the first war between the two republics and their allies, gave a little respite to the Persians. But Cimon was recalled, and reconciled Athens and Sparta. Immediately he began hostilities against the common enemy. One victory near Cyprus, and another on the coast of Asia, gloriously terminated both his military career and the Persian wars. The great king, threatened even in his own dominions, signed a humiliating treaty, which restored liberty to the Asiatic Greeks (448). His fleet was prohibited from entering the Ægean Sea, and his armies from approaching within three days' march of its coasts. Cimon died in his triumph.

V

THE AGE OF PERICLES

The Athenian People. — During this struggle Athens had been admirably served by the great men who had succeeded each other as her generals or statesmen: Miltiades, the hero of Marathon; Themistocles, who so often mingled craft with courage; Aristides, more upright, more just, benefiting Athens by his virtues equally with his valor; and thus inspiring the allies with sufficient confidence to trust to him their vessels and treasures, a man who, after having administered the most opulent treasury in Europe, died without leaving enough property to defray his funeral expenses, and bequeathed to the state the duty of paying them and of dowering his daughter; Cimon, son of Miltiades, greater than his father, a hero whose single passion was to unite the Greek cities in fraternal bonds, and pursue the Persians to the death, and avenge the burning of Athens and of her temples. With these illustrious leaders we must associate the Athenian people, a populace often fickle, thankless, and violent, but which redeemed its faults and crimes by its enthusiasm for everything beautiful and grand, by the masterpieces which it inspired, and by the artists and poets whom it gave mankind, and who will forever plead its cause with posterity.

Pericles. — Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, the conqueror of Mycale, deserves special mention in this roll of honor. From a fancied facial resemblance to Pisistratus, he long held himself aloof from politics. Though by birth an aristocrat, he attached himself to the popular party. The powerful influence which he acquired by the dignity of his life and his military services he employed to restrain the evil and to develop the good impulses of the people. This little city controlled too vast an empire. To assure its continuance, he sent out numerous colonies, which did not, like those of preceding centuries, become cities independent of the mother country, but rather fortresses and garrisons



whereby the country in which they were established was held in submission to Athens.

Great Intellectuals at Athens. — Pericles desired that Athens should be not only rich and powerful, but also glorious. He invited thither those superior men who then honored the Hellenic race. From all directions mankind flocked to the city of Minerva as an intellectual capital. The festivals were thronged, where the loftiest pleasures of the mind were associated with the most imposing spectacles of religious pomp, of perfect art, and of nature in her most charming aspect. These festivals were not, like those of the Roman populace, sanguinary games of the amphitheatre with spectacles of death, blood, and corpses, but consisted of pious hymns, patriotic songs, and dramatic representations of events in the history of the gods or of the heroes.

Thus this period, often called the Age of Pericles, beheld at Athens one of the most brilliant bursts of civilization which has ever illumined the world. What a century that was, when, in a single city, there met each other Sophocles and Euripides, two of the greatest tragic poets of all ages; Lysias, the powerful orator; Herodotus, the inimitable narrator; Meton, the astronomer, and Hippocrates, the father of medicine; Aristophanes, foremost of the comic poets of antiquity; Phidias, the most illustrious of its artists; Apollodorus, Zeuxis Polygnotus, and Parrhasius, its most celebrated painters; and in conclusion, two immortal philosophers, Anaxagoras and Socrates. If we remember that this city had just lost Æschylus, and that it was soon to possess Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, we shall not be surprised that it was called "the preceptress of Greece," and that it became the teacher of the world.

The Parthenon. — We still read the works of those poets, historians, and philosophers, but of the achievements of the artists only fragments remain. Nevertheless when, seated on the tribune from which Demosthenes spoke, one contemplates the Acropolis, and beholds the exquisite grace, the incomparable beauty, and the imposing grandeur which those ruins of what once were the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and the Propylæa still preserve, he is overwhelmed with admiration. However vivid be in his mind the memory of vast Egyptian monuments, he says to himself that the art eternal is here.

VI

RIVALRY OF SPARTA, ATHENS, AND THEBES

Irritation of the Allies against Athens. — After the Persian wars were finished, Athens continued to exact tribute money from her confederates on the plea that the Greeks must be ready to repel a fresh invasion. The money thus collected she spent upon herself. The allies grew tired of always paying for those monuments and festivals, which gave such brilliancy to only one city. When their complaints were harshly repressed, they addressed mute supplications to Sparta. Jealous of the glory of Athens, Sparta labored to form a continental league which she could oppose to that of the maritime cities and islands which were subject to the Athenians. From 457 to 431 there were several hostile encounters, but the general war did not break out until the Thebans, who were allies of Sparta, attacked Plataea, which was an ally of Athens.

The Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Nicias (431-424). — The struggle at first consisted only of pillaging expeditions on both sides. The Spartans devastated Attica every spring, while every summer the Athenian fleet ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnesus. Unfortunately, in the third year, a pestilence mowed down the people packed together in Athens, and carried off Pericles. Demagogues, unable to control the masses, took the place of the dead statesman. Cleon, the new popular favorite, gave free rein to the passions of the crowd. After the revolt of Mitylene in 427, the Athenian mob condemned a whole people to death, and a thousand Mitylenean prisoners were slain. From 429 to 426 the successes were balanced. The Bœotians destroyed Plataea, but Potidæa was captured by the Athenians. In 424 Brasidas took Amphipolis, thereby apparently giving the advantage to Lacedæmon, but Demosthenes seized Pylos, and thence called the helots to liberty, while 400 Spartans, who had allowed themselves to be shut up in Sphacteria while attempting to reconquer Pylos, were them-

selves overpowered and made prisoners. The Lacedæmonian allies, the Bœotians and Megarians, were beaten. The Athenians in turn met a check at Delium, and Cleon was slain at Potidæa. The Spartan, Brasidas, also fell in the same action. The partisans of peace then regained the upper hand (421), and Nicias caused the treaty to be signed which bears his name.

The Sicilian Expedition. **Alcibiades** (425-413). — This peace upset the calculations of the ambitious and brilliant Alcibiades, the nephew of Pericles. As he desired war that he might win distinction, he proposed and caused to be voted the disastrous expedition to Sicily, which might perhaps have succeeded, had he not been accused of sacrilege and recalled. The traitor then fled to Sparta, and from there directed fatal blows against his own country. The siege of Syracuse, weakly conducted by Nicias, ended in the destruction of the Athenian fleet and army (413). The leaders were put to death by the Syracusans, and the soldiers sold as slaves.

This disaster dealt the power of Athens a blow from which she did not recover. By the advice of Alcibiades, the Spartans fortified Decelea at the entrance to Attica, which they held as though besieged, and allied themselves with the Persians. Athens heroically braved the storm, displayed unexpected resources, and held all her allies to their duty. Fortunately for her, Alcibiades was compelled to flee from Sparta. He withdrew into Asia, and won the good-will of Tissaphernes, by showing him the advantage to the great king in supporting a war so useful to the Persian Empire. By the promise of subsidies from Persia, Alcibiades seduced an Athenian army then at Samos, and brought about a revolution at Athens. The democracy was curbed by the establishment of a superior council, with 400 members, which replaced the senate, and by an assembly of 5000 chosen citizens, which replaced the assembly of the people (411). But the army of Alcibiades, while appointing Alcibiades as its general, repudiated the new government, which fell at the end of four months. The Assembly of the Five Thousand was retained, however, and the reconciliation of the army and people was sealed by the recall of Alcibiades. Two naval battles won in the Hellespont (411), a great victory on land and sea near Cyzicus (410), and lastly the capture of Byzantium (408), consolidated the

dominion of Athens over Thrace and Ionia, and Alcibiades made a triumphal return to his country (407). But the same year several disasters which he was unable to prevent aroused suspicion; he was again stripped of his power and forced into exile. He finally perished at the hands of the Persians.

The Battle of Ægos Potamos, Capture of Athens (404).—The younger Cyrus, who was already plotting the overthrow of his brother, King Artaxerxes II, then held command in Asia Minor. For the accomplishment of his projects he counted upon the assistance of the Spartans, whom he regarded as the best soldiers in Greece or in the world. So he gave them unreserved support. By the crushing victory of Ægos Potamos, Lysander wrested from Athens the empire of the sea (405). Athens was unable to resist further, and was captured the following year. Her walls were razed, her fleet reduced to twelve galleys, and the government intrusted to an oligarchy of thirty tyrants, who sanctioned abominable atrocities, and even put to death one of their colleagues, Theramenes, for having suggested moderation. After a few months a returned exile, Thrasyboulos, defeated the army of the tyrants and reëstablished the former constitution (403).

Four years later Socrates was condemned to drink hemlock. He was one of the most illustrious victims of superstition and intolerance.

Power of Sparta. Expedition of the Ten Thousand. Agesilaus.—The supremacy in the Greek world had passed from Athens to Lacedæmon, who used it badly. She did little for art or learning, and her chiefs displayed nothing but brutal rapacity and greed.

The younger Cyrus was pursuing his plans. With thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries, he made his way as far as the neighborhood of Babylon, and won the battle of Cunaxa, but he died in the moment of triumph (401). The Greeks, surrounded on all sides, managed, under the leadership of the Lacedæmonian Clearchus, and afterwards of the Athenian Xenophon, to make their way across four hundred leagues of country, over the pathless mountains of upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Pontus, to the shores of the Black Sea. This famous retreat, known as that of the Ten Thousand, revealed the weakness of the great empire. Therefore as early as the year 396 Agesilaus, king of Sparta, pro-

posed its conquest. Conqueror of the satraps of Asia Minor, ally of the Egyptians, who had again revolted, and master of the forces of many barbarian kings, he was about to undertake the Persian expedition, sixty years before Alexander, when the Persians found means to incite a war against Sparta in the very heart of Greece itself. At their instigation, Corinth, Thebes, and Argos formed a league, which Athens and Thessaly joined. Agesilaus, thus recalled from Asia, won the battle of Coronea, which strengthened the dominion of Sparta on land; but the Athenian Conon, in command of a Phœnician fleet, deprived her of the empire of the sea, and with Persian gold rebuilt the ramparts of Athens.

Treaty of Antalcidas.—The Spartans, disturbed by the strength of their rivals, sent Antalcidas to treat with the great king. The Asiatic Greeks became his subjects, Athens retained Lemnos, Imbros, and Seyros, but the independence of the other Greek cities was recognized (387). In Cimon's treaty it had been Athens who imposed her conditions upon Persia. The change had come, not because Persia was more powerful, but Greece less virtuous. Everything was for sale, and as the great king had much gold, he bought everything, orators, soldiers, fleets, cities. The outcome of a war no longer depended upon the patriotism of the citizens and the talent of the leaders, but upon an obolus more or less in the wages of the mercenaries which induced them to pass from one camp to the other.

Struggle between Sparta and Thebes. **Epaminondas** (381-362).—The alliance against Sparta had placed Greece at the feet of Persia. Yet Sparta seemed strong, and believed herself able to act as she pleased. One day she destroyed Mantinea without cause and overthrew Olynthus. Finally one of her generals, Phibidias, violating all justice, surprised the Cadmeum, the citadel of Thebes, which was then the ally of Lacedæmon. The Spartans retained what treachery had given them (382). The Theban Pelopidas at the head of many exiles delivered his country, and reunited in a common alliance all the cities of Bœotia. At Leuctra Epaminondas crushed the army the Spartans had sent against them (371), and ventured to carry the war into the Peloponnesus. He fought his way to the very walls of Sparta, which however he was unable to enter. To hold it in check he built on its flanks Megalopolis and Messene,

which became fortresses and camps of refuge for the Arcadian and Messenian foes of Sparta (369). Against Thebes Sparta excited Athens, Persia, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Then Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus a second time, made an alliance with the Persian court, and created a navy of one hundred vessels which supported Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium in revolt against Athens. Unhappily for Thebes, Epaminondas a third time invaded the Peloponnesus, and perished in the arms of victory at Mantinea (362). The power of his country fell with him.

VII

PHILIP OF MACEDON, AND DEMOSTHENES

Philip. — Macedon, a vast region to the north of Thessaly and of the Ægean Sea, very early had kings who, surrounded by barbarous peoples and dominated by a powerful aristocracy, had hitherto played only an insignificant part. Before Philip, the father of Alexander, Macedon was even in a desperate situation. She paid tribute to the Illyrians, and the haughty intervention of Thebes and Athens in her affairs only increased the chaos. Philip, who had been sent to Thebes as a hostage, was brought up in the house of Epaminondas, and saw how the genius of one man could elevate a nation. Therefore on attaining power (359) he was able in two years, by means of the phalanx which he had organized in accordance with the ideas of Epaminondas, to rid the kingdom of the barbarians and himself of two competitors.

Capture of Amphipolis. Occupation of Thessaly. — Macedon once set free, he wished to enlarge and make it the ruler of Greece. The Greek colonies, established on her coasts, cut her off from the sea and prevented her having a navy; so he captured them one after another. First he purchased the neutrality of the powerful republic of Olynthus by giving it Potidæa, which he had seized. Then he took Amphipolis, which Athens deceived by his promises was unable to succor. Next he completed the conquest of the country between the Nestos and the Strymon, where he found building-timber for his navy, and the gold mines of Mount Pangæus, that furnished him a revenue of a thousand talents. Afterwards he penetrated into Thrace, which he partially subdued, and attacked Byzantium, which was delivered by Athens. Checked in that quarter, he turned to another. He interfered in the affairs of Thessaly, where he overthrew the tyrants of Pheræ, and appointed himself the champion of religion against the Phocians, who had just been condemned by the Amphictyonic Council for having

tilled a sacred field. He crushed them in a great battle (352). The grateful Thessalians opened three of their towns to the avenger of the gods. He put a garrison inside and thereby held the entire province. He wished to go further and seize Thermopylæ. But the Athenians by their vigilance at first frustrated this project, as they had frustrated one attempt upon Byzantium and another upon Europe.

Demosthenes. — The Athenians alone seemed active in the interests of Greece. They were led by a great citizen, Demosthenes, who constantly employed his vigorous eloquence in unveiling the ambitious designs of the king. But his philippics could not overcome craft supported by force. Olynthus, which Demosthenes tried to save, fell, and with it the barrier that embarrassed Macedonia the most (348). Athens, now menaced in Eubœa and even in Attica, whither Macedonian troops had come to remove the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, signed a peace which Demosthenes himself advised and which he negotiated with the king.

Second Sacred War (346). Battle of Chæronea (338).— While Athens confiding in this treaty gave herself up to festivals, Philip passed through Thermopylæ, overwhelmed the Phocians and made them give him the vote which they had in the Amphictyonic Council (346). This was a decisive step, for, once a member of the Hellenic body, the king could make the Amphictyonic Council speak in accordance with his interests and use it as his own instrument of oppression. Nevertheless, since he knew how to wait, he halted almost immediately in order to avoid any dangerous outbreak of despair, and turned his arms toward the Danube, which he made the boundary of his kingdom, and toward Thrace, where Phocion still prevented him from seizing the Greek colonies established on the Hellespont. While he was so far from Thermopylæ, his agents worked for him in Greece. Æschines caused the management of a new sacred war against the Locrians to be intrusted to him. For the second time religion was going to ruin this far from religious people. Philip, on arriving in central Greece, seized Elatea.

Demosthenes immediately broke silence. He reunited Athens and Thebes for a supreme effort, but Greek liberty was overthrown at Chæronea (338). The victor did himself honor by his moderation, and in order to justify the supreme

authority which he had just grasped, he had himself appointed by the Amphictyonic Council general-in-chief of the Greeks against the Persians. He was about to repeat the expedition of Agesilaus, though with far larger forces.

Macedon was now a powerful state extending from Thermopylæ to the Danube, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Its government had nothing to fear from internal troubles or pretenders to the throne. The aristocracy, the cause of previous disorders, had been won over by the glory of the monarch, by honors and offices, or were restrained by the hostages which they had been compelled to give that the royal guard might be composed entirely of young nobles. But death arrested Philip at the age of forty-seven in the midst of his plans. He was assassinated by a noble Pausanias, probably instigated by the Persians (336).

VIII

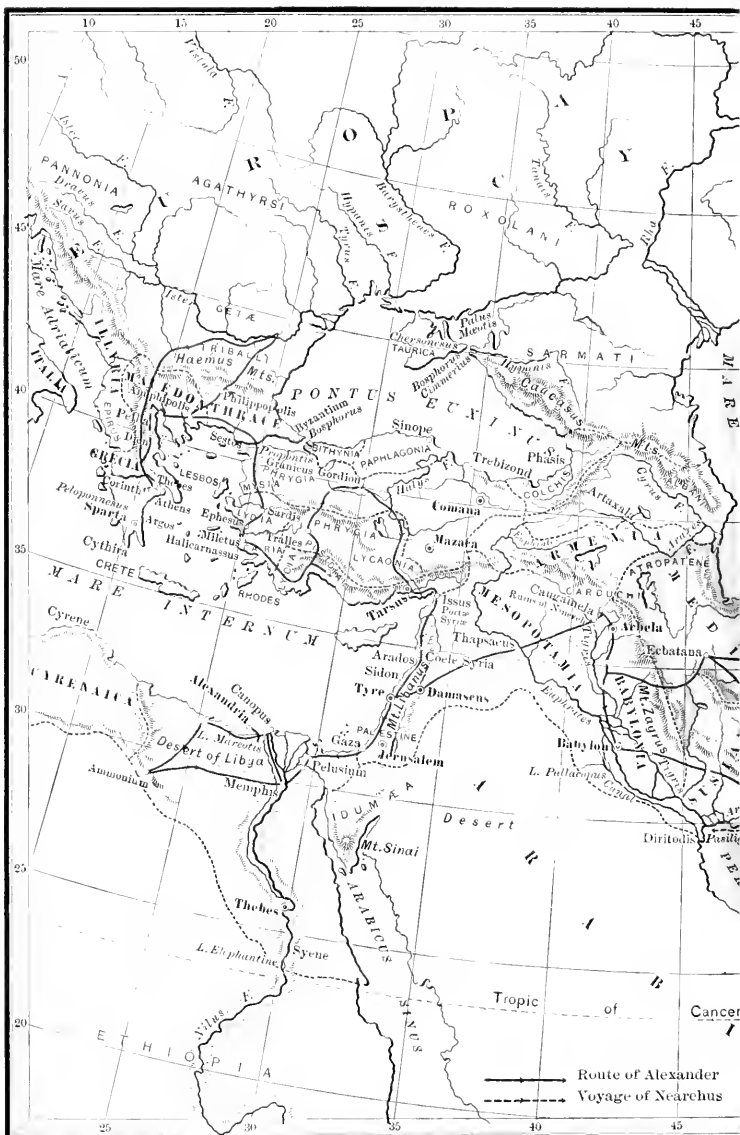
ALEXANDER

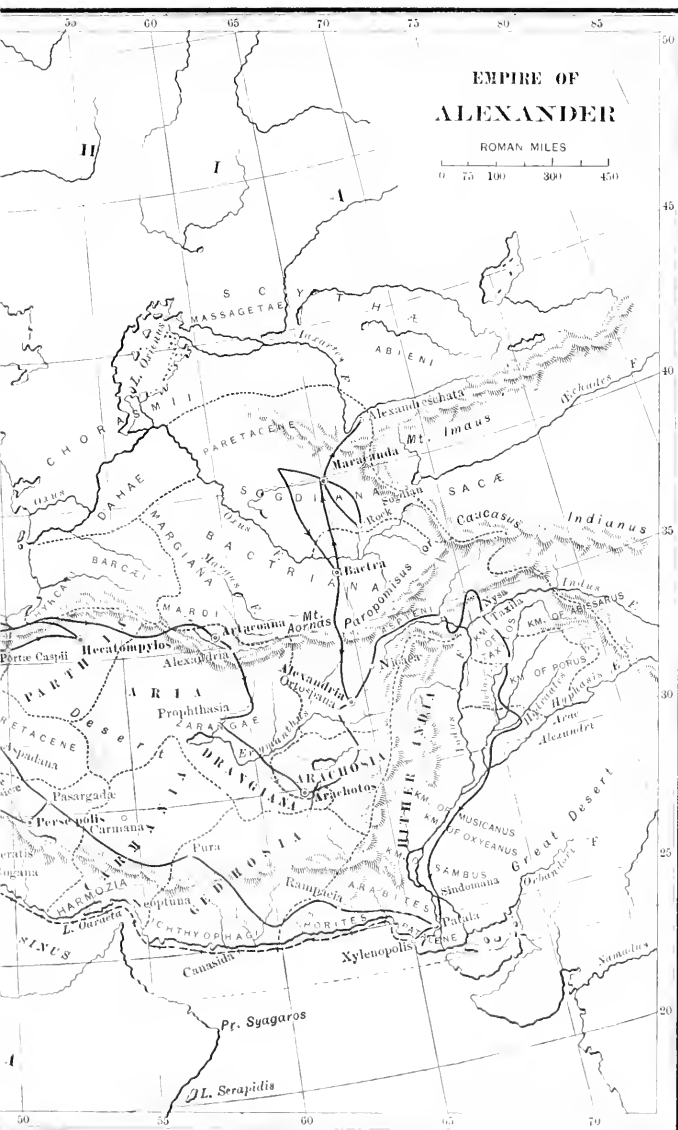
(336-323)

Submission of Greece to Alexander (336-334).—Great disturbances broke out at the news that Philip had left as his heir Alexander, a young man of twenty. However, Alexander rapidly subdued Thrace and Illyricum, vanquished the barbarians on both banks of the Danube, and, learning that the Macedonian garrison had been massacred at Thebes, arrived in Boeotia thirteen days after leaving the Danube. "Demosthenes called me a child," he said, "when I was in Illyricum, and a youth when I arrived in Thessaly. Under the walls of Athens I will show him that I am a man." He took Thebes, slew six thousand of its inhabitants, and sold thirty thousand into slavery. The terrified Greeks at Corinth conferred upon him the title, already bestowed upon his father, of general-in-chief for the Persian War.

Expedition against Persia (334). Conquest of the Asiatic Coast and Egypt.—He crossed the Hellespont with 30,000 foot and 4500 horse, defeated at Granicus 110,000 Persians, then marched along the coast so as to shut Greece from the agents of Darius, and thus deprive them of the means of exciting disorders there. Darius tried to arrest him at Issus in Cilicia. Alexander vanquished him (333). Disdaining to pursue he continued the plan which he had marked out in the occupation of the maritime cities. Without anxiety he devoted seven months to the siege of Tyre, and spent another year in Egypt, where he sacrificed to the native gods so as to win over the inhabitants. He founded Alexandria, and induced the priests of Ammon to bestow upon him the title of Son of the Gods, which the ancient Pharaohs had borne (332).

Conquest of Persia. Death of Darius. Murder of Clitus (334-327).—After conquering the maritime provinces of the empire, Alexander traversed Palestine and Syria,





EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER

ROMAN MILES
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crossed the Euphrates, where the Persians did not oppose his passage, and the Tigris, which they defended no better, and at last attacked and completely defeated Darius in the plain of Arbela (331). Sure that no army of the Persian king could resist his Macedonians, he allowed that prince to again flee toward his eastern provinces. He descended to Babylon, where he sacrificed to Bel, whose temple overthrown by Xerxes he restored, and hurried to occupy the other capitals of Darius: Susa, which contained immense riches; Pasargadae, the sanctuary of the empire; and Persepolis, which he burned, thereby announcing to the whole East that a new conqueror had seated himself upon the throne of Cyrus. With headlong speed he subdued, or caused his generals to subdue, the neighboring mountaineers. He entered Ecbatana a week after the king had left it, continued the pursuit and was on the point of again attacking him, when three satraps, whose prisoner the unfortunate prince had become, cut the throat of Darius and left only a corpse for the conqueror. Bessus, one of the assassins, tried to make Bactriana a centre of resistance. Alexander gave him no time. He rapidly traversed Aria and Bactriana as far as the Oxus. Bessus, who had retreated beyond that river, was delivered into his hands, and a council of Medes and Persians surrendered him to the brother of Darius, who caused him to undergo a thousand tortures.

Alexander wintered in those regions. On the shores of the Iaxartes he founded a new Alexandria, which he peopled with Greek mercenaries, invalid soldiers, and barbarians. The capture of the Sogdian Rock, the marriage of Alexander with Roxana, the daughter of a Persian nobleman, and the foundation of many cities completed the subjugation of Sogdiana, where the conqueror left great but also terrible memories. He tortured Philotas and his father, Parmenio, because of a conspiracy which they had not revealed, murdered Clitus during an orgy, and put to death the philosopher Callisthenes for a plot to which he was a stranger.

Alexander beyond the Indus. His Return to Babylon, and Death (327-323).—The Persian Empire no longer existed. It was now the Macedonian Empire. Alexander did not find it large enough, and wished to add India thereto. Upon the banks of the Cophen he met an Indian king, Taxiles, who entreated his aid against Porus, another Indian monarch. His soldiers felled a whole forest to construct a fleet upon

the Indus, and Porus was conquered and captured. "How do you wish to be treated?" Alexander asked his prisoner. "Like a king," replied Porus. The captive was allowed to retain his states, which were also enlarged, and was assigned the duty of maintaining the country in submission. Alexander wished to penetrate into the valley of the Ganges, but his army refused to go farther and he was obliged to halt. After marking the extreme limit of his triumphant course by twelve altars around which he celebrated games, he returned to the Indus, which he descended to the ocean, subjugating the people along the banks, founding cities, dockyards, and ports, and carefully exploring the mouths of the river. He returned to Babylon through the deserts of Gedrosia and Carmania, through which no army had ever marched. Meanwhile his admiral, Nearchus, coasted with the fleet along the shore and returned by the Persian Gulf that he might indicate to commerce the road to India.

Notwithstanding the many recruits which Macedon and Greece had sent him, Alexander could not have founded so many cities and maintained his subjects in obedience, if he had not pursued a wise policy toward the conquered. He sacrificed to their gods, respected their customs, left the civil government in the hands of the natives, and endeavored to unite victors and vanquished by marriages, of which he himself set the example by wedding Barsina, or Statira, the daughter of Darius. The military forces alone remained in the hands of his Macedonians. He counted that the beneficent influence of commerce would create between East and West, between Persia and Greece, common interests and weld those many diverse peoples into one formidable empire. Death overtook him at Babylon (323) and put an end to his mighty plans. No one after him had sufficient strength or authority to take them up. When about to draw his last breath, he had given his ring to Perdiccas. His other lieutenants asked him to whom he left his crown. "To the most worthy, but I fear I shall have a bloody funeral." He was only thirty-two years of age and had reigned twelve.

The Age of Alexander. — Great men again in the age of Philip and Alexander added to the glorious patrimony which their ancestors had bequeathed. Praxiteles, the most graceful of Greek sculptors, and the painter Pamphilus, the master of Apelles, followed Phidias, Polycleetus, and Zeuxis.

Nevertheless art diminished. Taste became less pure and style less severe. Too much was yielded to form. Art spoke to the eye rather than to the mind. Eloquence and philosophy, however, showed no decline. The tribune of Athens resounded with the impassioned and virile accents of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Hegesippus. *Æschines*, the rival of Demosthenes, contributed the movement and splendor of his periods, and *Phocion* his virtue, the most powerful weapon of oratory.

After the death of Socrates his disciples dispersed. Plato, the most illustrious of them all, had returned to Athens and taught in the gardens of *Academos*. The Greeks, charmed by the matchless grace of his speech, reported that his father was *Apollo* and that the bees of *Hymettus* had deposited their honey upon his lips in the cradle. Aristotle, his pupil and rival, the teacher of Alexander, has fastened upon himself the eternal attention of mankind by other merits. His vast and mighty genius desired to understand all, the laws of the human mind as well as the laws of nature. Philosophy still pursues the double path which those preëminent intellects marked out, idealistic with the one, rational and positive with the other. *Xenophon*, a gentle spirit and amiable narrator, ranks far below them.

IX

CONVERSION OF GREECE AND OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS INTO ROMAN PROVINCES

(323-146)

Dismemberment of Alexander's Empire.—Three months after Alexander's death, his wife Roxana gave birth to Alexander Aigos. The conqueror left a natural son named Hercules; a half-brother, the imbecile Arrhideus, and two sisters, Cleopatra and Thessalonica. His imperious mother, Olympias, was still alive. After long debates Arrhideus and Alexander Aigos were both proclaimed. Antipater was placed over the European forces, Craterus was made a sort of guardian to Arrhideus, and Perdikkas became a general prime minister. Continual convulsions during twenty-four years resulted from this divided authority, and cost the lives of all the members of the royal family and of a majority of the generals. The empire was rent asunder along the lines of its ancient nationalities. Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon were reconstructed after the decisive battle of Ipsus, where Antigonus made a last effort to restore unity (301).

Kingdoms of Syria (201-64) and Egypt (301-30).—Seleucus Nicator, one of the victors of Ipsus, founded the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, to whom he gave for capitals Seleucia and Antioch and for empire all the countries comprised between the Indus and the Ægean Sea. His son could not prevent the Gauls from settling in Galatia. Antiochus II, despite his surname of the God, saw two kingdoms rise in his eastern provinces, that of the Bactrians, which did not last, and that of the Parthians, which renewed the Persian monarchy. Antiochus III the Great (224-187) ventured to attack the Romans, who vanquished him at Thermopylæ (191) and Magnesia (190), wrested from him Asia on this side of the Tarsus, and reduced Syria itself to a Roman province (64).

Egypt saw better days under the first of the Lagidæ, all

of whom bore the name of Ptolemy. It was then a powerful state, the centre of the world's commerce, the asylum of letters and science, with a magnificent library at Alexandria. But the clever kings were speedily succeeded by debauched, cruel, incapable sovereigns, and after them by foreign intervention.

Thus Ptolemy Soter (301) added to his kingdom Cyrenaica, Cyprus, Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia. Philadelphus (285) developed the navy and maintained two successful wars, one against his brother Magas, governor of Cyrene, and the other against the king of Syria, who was unable to conquer Egypt. Euergetes (247) penetrated in Asia as far as Bactriana and in Africa to the interior of Ethiopia, while his lieutenants subjugated the coasts of Arabia Felix to secure the trade-route to India. Philopator (222) began the decline, which Epiphanes (205) hastened by placing himself under the tutelage of the Romans, who thenceforth constantly intermeddled in Egyptian affairs till the days of Cæsar and Cleopatra. The latter was a dangerous siren, to whom Antony sacrificed his honor, his fortune, and his life. Octavius resisted her, and the queen, threatened with adorning a Roman triumph, died from the poison of an asp. Egypt became a Roman province (30), as the kingdom of Pergamos in Asia Minor had done (129) by virtue of the testament of its last king.

Kingdom of Macedon (301-146). Cyncephalæ and Pydna. — Macedon did not exist so long, but fell with greater honor, for her last two kings dared withstand Rome, who had become through her triumph over Carthage the greatest military power in the world. The descendants of Antigonus, who was vanquished at Ipsus, had secured for themselves the throne of Macedon, and like Philip and Alexander tried to obtain the supreme power over Greece. During the second Punic War, the Romans by the conquest of Illyricum gained a footing on the Greek peninsula. Philip of Macedon tried to drive them into the sea, and made with Hannibal (215) a treaty which was to assure him the possession of Greece; but a defeat on the banks of the Aoüs forced him to beat a rapid retreat to his kingdom. The Roman senate, taking advantage of the enmities which his ambition had aroused, announced itself the protector of the nations threatened by him. He had the impudence to provoke Rome, now rid of Hannibal. The reply was prompt and

terrible. The legions crushed at Cynocephalæ the phalanx, which had conquered Greece and Asia (197). His son Perseus was no more fortunate at Pydna (168). In 146 Macedon was effaced from the list of nations and the kingdom of Alexander was henceforth nothing but a Roman province.

Death of Demosthenes (322). The Achæan League (251-146).—While the successors of Alexander were disputing the fragments of his purple robe in Asia, Greece made an effort to recover her liberty. Demosthenes, who had remained the soul of the national party, and Athens, who hoped to be able to break once more the dominion of the stranger, stirred up the Lanian war. It began well but ended in disaster. Demosthenes was banished and took poison (322). On the base of the statue which, later on, his fellow-countrymen erected to his memory, these words were inscribed: "If thy power had equalled thy eloquence, Greece would not to-day be captive." Phocion perished five years later by the order of the Macedonians. However, the Greek cities profiting by the disorders in Macedon regained their liberty; but the foreign rule when it withdrew left behind, like an impure deposit, tyrants in every town. Supported by mercenaries, these men terrorized over the citizens and extorted from their cowardice the gold which served to rivet their bonds. One man, Aratus, undertook to overthrow these detestable rulers. First he reconstituted the ancient federation of the twelve Achæan cities. Then he delivered Sicyon (251), Corinth, Megara, Trezene, Argos, Mantinea, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis from their tyrants, and made alliance with the Ætolian league in order to raise a barrier against the ambition of Macedon. To extend his patriotic work to central Greece, he aided in the deliverance of Athens and Orchomenus. A few efforts more and the Achæan league would have embraced the whole of Hellas.

Unfortunately, Sparta revived with a spasm of reform. Cleomenes made all property common, reestablished the public meals and reconstituted with foreigners a new Spartan people which immediately contended with the Achæans, and disputed their preponderance in the Peloponnesus. Aratus was constrained to implore assistance from the Macedonians, who defeated Cleomenes at Sellasia (221). This defeat crushed new Sparta, but placed the Achæans in dependence upon Macedon, who made everything bend before

her. The Romans becoming disquieted at this reviving strength prepared to intervene so as to destroy it. The violent deeds of Philip and the murder of Aratus gave them numerous allies, and the Ætolians helped win the battle of Cynocephalæ. Victorious Rome took nothing for herself, but divided everything in order to weaken all. She destroyed the leagues in Thessaly and central Greece by declaring that every city should be free. The Greeks applauded, not without perceiving that this liberty would lead them to servitude. Philopœmen of Megalopolis, the worthy successor of Aratus, at the head of the Achæan league tried to delay the moment of inevitable ruin. Lacedæmon, which had fallen into the hands of the tyrants, was a hotbed of intrigue. Philopœmen slew with his own hand in battle the tyrant Machanidas, and forced his successor Nabis to raise the siege of Messene. Entering Sparta as a victor, he united it to the Achæan league. It was not the policy of Rome that the whole Peloponnesus should form a single state. Her envoys urged Messene to revolt. Philopœmen in an expedition against her fell from his horse, was captured and condemned to drink hemlock (183).

During the war against Perseus, the Achæans secretly but fervently desired his success, and for this Rome called them to account after the victory of Pydna. A thousand of their best citizens were deported to Italy (168). Released seventeen years afterwards, they brought back to their country an imprudent hatred of Rome. When the senate announced that Corinth, Sparta, and Argos must cease to form part of the league, the Achæans flew to arms and fought the last battle for liberty (146) at Leucopetra, near Corinth. Corinth was burned by Mummius, Greece reduced to a province, and this people, who had held so great a place in the world, were lost in the ocean of the Roman power.

X

SUMMARY OF GREEK HISTORY

Services Rendered by the Greeks to General Civilization.

— Epicharmes, the creator of Greek comedy, said twenty-four centuries ago: "All blessings are bought from the gods by labor." What the poet said, Greece proved. By dint of an activity, of which no other people had until then ever furnished an example, did the Greeks succeed in taking so high a rank among the nations. They covered the coasts of the Mediterranean with flourishing cities. They raised a poor and petty country to mastery of the world by arms and commerce, but, above all, by civilization.

Among the sciences by establishing the methods or processes they also created mathematics, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, which Egypt and Chaldæa had only outlined. They laid the foundations of botany and medicine.

In the sciences indeed we have advanced much farther than they by following the path of patient investigation and pure reasoning which Hippocrates, Archimedes, and Aristotle opened up, but in letters, arts, and philosophy the Greeks have remained the eternal masters. The Romans and the moderns have been only their pupils.

They carried to perfection the epic poem with Homer; the elegy with Simonides; the ode with Pindar; tragedy with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, who succeeded in making it grandly religious, patriotic and moral; comedy with Aristophanes and Menander; history with Herodotus and Thucydides; forensic and legal eloquence with Demosthenes, Æschines, Isocrates, and Lysias.

In the arts the world still follows their impulse and imitates their models. While varying their three orders, we copy their architecture. Their mutilated statues are the pride of our museums. Our decorative arts draw inspiration from the graceful designs of their vases or from the ornaments of their temples and tombs. The moderns have

created only one new art, music, and developed one ancient art, painting.

In philosophy, as they had no holy books and consequently no body of fixed doctrines, no sacerdotal class jealously guarding for itself both dogma and learning, no social aristocracy limiting the field of thought, they allowed the utmost freedom to the mind. Thus they created moral and political philosophy in entire independence. They made it the domain of all and assigned as its only aim the quest of truth. Thereby they threw open to the human intellect an immense horizon. That which feeling only vaguely attained, reason proceeded to grasp, and with unequalled power. What have twenty centuries added to the philosophical discoveries of the Hellenes?

In short, such was the fruitfulness of their prolific nature, that on the very ruins of Greek society sprang forth that elevated moral doctrine of stoicism which, combined with and modified by the Christian spirit, is still capable of developing great characters.

The East, earlier than the Hellenes, gave birth to sages, but the people below them were only herds, docile to the voice of the master. In Greece, humanity became conscious of itself. There man assumed full possession of the faculties planted in him by the Creator, and of the sentiment of his own personal dignity. Slavery, preserved in the cities by the politicians and justified in books by the philosophers, was a relic of that past from which the emancipation of the freest nations is always slow.

Defects of the Political and Religious Spirit among the Greeks.—Still, this picture has its shadows. Admirable political theorists, with Aristotle at their head, they were able to organize nothing but cities. The idea of a great state was unwelcome to them. Never, except partially and for a brief space during the Persian wars, or too late at the time of the Achæan league, did they consent to join their forces and destinies in fraternal union. Thus they lost their independence on that day when the half-barbaric, half-Hellenic, wholly military Macedonian monarchy was formed at their gates. To Rome their subjugation was still more easy.

The Greek religion, so favorable to art and poetry, was less so to virtue. By representing the gods, personifications of natural forces, as enslaved by the most shameful

passions, committing theft, incest, and adultery, breathing hatred and revenge, it obscured the idea of uprightness, and rendered evil legitimate by the example of those who should have been the incarnation of good. Then when human reason contradicted the divine legends, Greek polytheism at last found itself in that fatal condition wherein religion and the moral code are opposed to each other. The latter attacked the former and won the battle. The gods fell from Olympus. Grass grew in the courtyards of the temples. This would have been a gain, if the dethroned deities had been replaced by such a virile system of instruction as would enlighten and purify human reason. That virile instruction was found here and there on the lips of the poets and philosophers, but the masses did not listen. Delivered to the grovelling superstitions in which among the weak the great beliefs end, Greek religion was without defence when assailed by the Asiatic corruption introduced by the conquests of Alexander. Gold depraved alike men and institutions. The mercenaries of the Seleucidæ and of the Ptolemies, men without a country inasmuch as without liberty, lost together with their manly virtues the generous self-devotion which had made them so great at Marathon and Thermopylæ, and the self-respect and reverence for the true and the beautiful which had formed so many good citizens and created so many masterpieces. Greece from time to time did still produce some superior men, but only as a long-time fertile but exhausted soil yields at intervals a scanty fruit.

HISTORY OF THE ROMANS



I

ROME. THE ANCIENT ROMAN CONSTITUTION

(753-366)

The Royal Period (753-510).—The fertile plains of Latium and Etruria meet under the Sabine mountains on the banks of the Tiber, the largest stream of the Italian peninsula. At some distance from its junction with the Anio, this river flows between nine hills, two of which, Janiculus and Vaticanus, dominate the right bank, while the other seven distinguish the left. It was there that Rome arose.

Legend, which explains every beginning and delights in the marvellous, recognizes seven kings of Rome: Romulus, the son of Mars, nursed by a she-wolf, the founder upon the Palatine of the present city; Numa, the religious king, whom the nymph Egeria inspired; Tullus Hostilius, who overthrew Alba Longa after the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; Ancus Martius, the founder of Ostia; Tarquinius Priscus, who perhaps owed his crown to an Etruscan conquest of Rome; Servius Tullius, the legislator; and lastly Tarquinius Superbus, the abominable tyrant whom the Romans expelled.

History, more sedate, has many doubts concerning this royal period of which the only glimpse is afforded by charming tales. Nevertheless it credits the foundation upon the Palatine of Roma Quadrata, a city whose walls have recently been discovered. This city exercised its robust youth against its Latin, Sabine and Etruscan neighbors, and grew so rapidly that Servius was obliged to erect those extensive walls which sufficed during the whole period

of the republic. It had customs, institutions and a political organization such as would require much time to develop. We must admit that under her last king Rome was already the capital of Latium, the strongest power in Italy. Her inhabitants constituted two peoples, as it were the patricians and the plebeians. The patricians consisted of families, each of which formed a clan with its own gods, its common property and its chief. The latter was at once high priest of the domestic altar, judge without appeal over his wife and children, patron whom his clients obeyed, absolute master of his slaves, and in the forum and at the curia a member of the sovereign people who elected the prince, enacted the laws and decided questions of peace and war. The plebeians were a confused mass of conquered captives, transported to the city, of foreigners settled there, and perhaps of natives dispossessed by the original conquest. They had nothing in common with the patricians, neither gods nor marriage nor political rights. Nevertheless to Servius is attributed the division: of the city into four quarters or urban tribes; of the territory into twenty-six cantons or rural tribes; of the people, patricians and plebeians, into five classes according to wealth, and into 193 hundreds or centuries. The first class alone had ninety-eight centuries. After the kings were expelled, as each century represented one vote, it had ninety-eight votes, while all the other classes combined had only ninety-five.

The Republic. Consuls. Tribunes (510-493). — The patricians overthrew Tarquin and replaced the king by two consuls, chosen annually by them from among themselves. This was therefore an aristocratic revolution. Brutus, one of the consuls, discovered that his sons were implicated in a conspiracy to recall the king. He ordered that they should be put to death and stoically witnessed their execution. Tarquin sought revenge by rousing all the neighboring peoples against Rome. The bloody victory of Lake Regillus saved the city, but her strength was undermined by debts incurred by the losses and expenses of the recent wars. The Roman law favored the creditors, who abused their rights, and the poor in resentment would not allow themselves to be enrolled. Then the senate created the dictatorship, an absolute magistracy from which there was no appeal. Its power, more arbitrary than that of the kings had ever been, was to last six months. The people were terrified and yielded, but

the violence of the creditors increased. At last the poor abandoned the city and retired to Mons Sacer. They came back only after tribunes had been promised them, who should be annually elected from the plebeians and by their veto could reverse the decisions of the consuls and senate. At first the tribunes employed their power as a shield wherewith to defend the people. Later on they used it to attack the nobles and make themselves masters of the republic.

The Decemvirate and the Twelve Tables.—The years which elapsed between the establishment of the tribuneship and that of the decemvirate were filled by petty wars and internal troubles. The tribune Terentillus Arsa in 461 demanded that a code, written and known to the citizens, should be drawn up. For a long time the patricians resisted. At last the proposition was passed, and decemvirs were elected with unlimited powers to draw up the new laws. One of them, Appius Claudius, tried to usurp the authority. He fell in consequence of an outrage, which forced a father to kill his daughter to save her from dishonor (449).

In the legislation of the Twelve Tables, published by the decemvirs (448), attacks upon property were cruelly punished. The thief might be killed with impunity at night and even during the day if he defended himself. "Whoever sets fire to a lot of grain shall be bound, beaten with rods and burned." "The insolvent debtor shall be sold or cut in pieces." For offences regarded as less grave, we find two systems of penalties in use among all barbarous peoples, the talion or corporal reprisals, and settlement by agreement. "Whoever breaks a limb shall pay three hundred Roman pounds to the injured person. If he does not settle with him, let him be subjected to the *lex talionis*."

However some provisions favored the plebeians. The rate of interest was diminished and guaranties for individual liberty were provided. "Let the false witness and the corrupt judge be hurled from the rock," said the law. "The people shall always have the right of appeal from the sentence of the magistrates. The people alone in their assemblies by centuries shall have the power to pronounce sentence of death." Thus criminal jurisdiction was bestowed upon the people. Thus the power passed to the *comitia centuriata*, where according to their property patricians and plebeians were mingled without distinction.

The general character of the law was another advantage for the plebeians. "No more personal laws." The civil legislation of the Twelve Tables recognized only Roman citizens. Its provisions were not made for one order or one class. Its formula was always "If any one," inasmuch as patrician and plebeian, senator and priest and laborer, were equal in its eyes. Thus, by ignoring differences formerly so profound, was proclaimed the definite union of the two peoples. It was a new people, all the citizens in a body, which now held sovereign authority and was the source of all power and all right. "Whatever the people shall ordain shall constitute the final law." Thus the people had attained through the Twelve Tables several material benefits, which may be summed up as civil equality. Not yet eligible to many offices, their political equality was still in the future.

The Plebeians attain Admission to All Offices (448-286). — The revolution of 510, instituted by the patricians, had benefited only the aristocracy. That of 448, instituted by the people, benefited only the people. The new consuls, Horatius and Valerius, forbade under pain of death that any magistracy without appeal should ever be created, gave the force of law to the plebiscites or votes passed in the assembly of the tribes, and repeated the anathema pronounced against any one who should attack the inviolability of the tribuneship. Nevertheless the prohibition of intermarriage and the occupation of all offices by the patricians still maintained an insulting distinction between the two orders. In 445 the tribune Canuleius demanded the abolition of the prohibition regarding marriage, and his colleagues demanded that plebeians should be eligible to the consulship. This was equivalent to demanding political equality. The patricians were indignant, but the people withdrew to the Janiculine Hill. The senate, thinking that custom would be stronger than law, accepted the proposition concerning intermarriage. Instead of granting the consulship to the plebeians, they diminished its functions. Two new magistrates, called censors, were appointed in 444, at first for five years and later for eighteen months. These officers were to take the census, administer the public domains and finances, regulate the classes, draw up the list of the senate and of the equestrian order, and have control of the city police. The other consular duties — military and

judicial administration, presidency of the assemblies and of the senate, and protection of the city and laws—were divided and intrusted to three, four, and sometimes six generals under the name of military tribunes.

The constitution of 444 made plebeians eligible to the military tribuneship, yet until the year 400 no plebeian attained it. Meanwhile Rome was carrying on a five years' siege of Veii, which the patrician Camillus finally captured. The Gallic invasion interrupted the political strife, that burst forth more fiercely after the danger was past. The tribunes, Licinius Stolo and Sextius, in 376, renewed the demand for division of the consulship, and proposed an agrarian law limiting to 500 acres the amount of land which a citizen could own. The crisis of the struggle had arrived. The same two tribunes were reelected for ten successive years. In vain did the senate persuade their colleagues to interpose their veto. Twice did they have recourse to the dictatorship. The dictator, Camillus, abdicated when threatened with a fine of 500 pounds. Against the tribunes the patricians invoked the sanctity of religion, for not a single plebeian was a priest. At last the patricians agreed that "instead of two custodians of the Sibylline books, ten shall be appointed, five of whom shall be plebeians." The year 366 beheld for the first time a plebeian consul. Then the patricians created the prætorship, an office exercising the judicial functions of the consuls. To this the plebeians became eligible in 337. The dictatorship was opened to them in 355, the censorship in 350, the procensorship in 326, and the augurship in 302. Two additional laws assured political equality and founded that union at home and that strength abroad which enabled Rome to triumph over every obstacle. The one imposed the plebiscite equally on the two orders, and declared that both consuls might be plebeians. The other summarized and confirmed all the rights the plebeians had acquired.

II

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(343-265)

Capture of Rome by the Gauls (390). — The capture of Veii, a great Etruscan city, made Rome preponderant in central Italy. The Gauls, established for two centuries in the valley of the Po, threatened to destroy the growing state at its centre. They besieged Clusium, which had refused them lands, and marched upon Rome. They defeated her armies on the banks of the Allia, and made their way to the foot of the Capitol, where the senate and the young men had shut themselves up. They maintained a close siege, until an invasion of the Veneti called them back to their own country, whereupon they consented to accept a ransom. As Camillus, on being appointed dictator, had destroyed some of their detachments, Roman vanity represented these petty successes as a complete victory.

It took Rome nearly half a century to recover. Meanwhile Camillus, Manlius Torquatus, and Valerius Corvus defeated several rebellious Latin tribes and their Gallic allies, and captured some of the Etruscan cities. They subjugated southern Etruria and most of Latium, and approached the Samnite borders. Then burst out the Samnite war, or the war of Italian independence. All the nations of the peninsula entered the lists in turn, always committing the fatal mistake of not attacking together. This war lasted seventy-eight years, desolated all central Italy, and placed the entire peninsula under the heel of Rome.

The Samnite Wars. — The wealthy city of Capua, being threatened by the Samnites, submitted to the Romans, who defeated her adversaries, but the hostile attitude of the Latins prevented them from following up their successes. The Latins demanded full political equality with the Romans. On the senate's refusal a difficult war began. In deference to discipline, Manlius Torquatus condemned



to death his own son who had fought without orders, and Decius sacrificed himself to save the legions. Varying conditions, imposed on the Latin cities after the victory, assured their obedience.

In 327 the Samnites, to expel the Romans from Campania, incited the city of Palæpolis to revolt. Defeated by Papirius Cursor and Fabius Maximus, who commanded the Romans, the Samnites took their revenge at the Caudine Forks, where they surrounded the whole army, forced it to pass under the yoke, and to sign a humiliating treaty of peace. The senate repudiated the treaty and surrendered the consuls to the Samnites who were unwilling to receive them. Finally Publilius Philo penetrated victoriously into Samnium, while Papirius subdued Apulia on the farther side of the Samnite mountains. The senate endeavored to confine its formidable foes in the Apennines by a line of fortresses or military colonies.

The northern peoples of the peninsula now came to the aid of the Samnites. Fifty or sixty thousand Etruscans fell upon the Roman colony of Sutrium but were defeated by Fabius near Perugia. He systematically devastated Samnium till its exhausted tribes begged for an end of a war which had already lasted more than a generation. They retained their territory and the externals of independence, but agreed to recognize "the majesty of the Roman people." Circumstances were soon to show what the senate meant by this term.

The Samnites with the Sabines, Etruscans, Umbrians and Gauls rose in general revolt. At Rome the tribunals were closed. All able-bodied citizens were enrolled, and an army was raised, at least 90,000 strong. The massacre of a whole legion near Camerinum opened to the Senones the passage of the Apennines. Should they effect their junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans, the consular army was doomed. Fabius by a diversion recalled the Etruscans to the defence of their homes, and then hastened to encounter the Gauls in the plains of Sentinum. The shock was terrible. Seven thousand Romans had already perished on the left wing which was commanded by Decius, when the consul sacrificed himself, imitating the example of his father. The barbarians retreated in disorder and returned to their country. The destruction of a Samnite legion and the defeat of Pontius Herennius, the victor of the

Caudine Forks, finally wrung from this obstinate nation the confession of its defeat. A treaty, whose clauses are unknown, ranged them among the allies of Rome. To hold them in check Venusia was occupied by a powerful colony.

The centre of Italy thus submitted to the Roman supremacy or the Roman alliance. In the north the Etruscans were still hostile and the Gauls had forgotten their defeat at Sentinum. In the south Samnite bands wandered among the mountains of Calabria. The Lucanians were uneasy, and the Greeks with apprehension beheld the approach of the Roman rule. Tarentum especially manifested dissatisfaction. Still the union of so many peoples was impossible. The only real moment of serious danger was when the Etruscans once destroyed a Roman army. The senate replied by the utter extermination of the Senones. The Boii, another Gallic tribe, when endeavoring to avenge their brethren, were themselves crushed together with the Etruscans near Lake Vadimo (283). Northern like Central Italy then acknowledged the Roman sway.

Pyrrhus. — Tarentum alone held out in arms but realized her weakness too late. She summoned to her assistance Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. On arriving in that wealthy and luxurious city, Pyrrhus closed the baths and theatres and compelled the citizens to arm themselves. At the first battle near Heraclea the elephants, with which the Romans were unacquainted, threw their ranks into disorder. They left 15,000 men on the field, but Pyrrhus had lost 13,000. "Another such victory," he exclaimed, "and I shall return to Epirus without an army." He sent his minister Cineas to Rome to propose peace. "Let Pyrrhus first leave Italy," replied the aged Appius, "and then we will see about treating with him." Cineas was ordered to quit Rome that very day. "The senate," he said on his return, "seemed to me an assembly of kings."

Pyrrhus tried to surprise the city, but all its citizens were soldiers. He could only gaze at the walls from a distance. A second battle near Asculum, where a third Decius sacrificed himself, proved that he was only wearing out his forces in vain against this determined people. He crossed to Sicily to fight the Carthaginians who were besieging Syracuse. Though he raised the siege and drove the Africans back to Lilybæum, he soon wearied of this expedition and returned to Italy. A defeat at Beneventum drove the

royal adventurer back to Greece. Undertaking to conquer Macedon, he was proclaimed its king but perished miserably at the siege of Argos. Tarentum, thus abandoned, opened its gates (272). Græcia Magna, like northern and central Italy, was subdued.

The Gauls. — The Cisalpine Gauls still inspired a legitimate fear. Receiving the news that they had called for an army of their transalpine compatriots, the senate declared "emergency" and put on foot 700,000 soldiers, 500,000 of whom were furnished by the Italians. The victory of Telamon averted all danger and Marcellus slew their king with his own hand. Roman colonies, sent to the banks of the Po, overawed Cisalpine Gaul. The barbarians then implored the help of Hannibal but, satisfied to be delivered by his victories, did not themselves rise en masse to help him crush Rome. After the battle of Zama the senate again took measures against them. All the Boii emigrated, going in search of other habitations on the banks of the Danube, and thus delivered their rich country and the barriers of the Alps to the Romans.

III

THE PUNIC WARS

(264-146)

First Punic War (264-241). Conquest of Sicily. — Carthage, a colony of Tyre, had extended her sway from Numidia to the frontiers of Cyrenaïca, organized an immense caravan traffic in the interior of Africa and seized the control of the western Mediterranean. While Rome was contending with the Etruscans and the Italian Greeks, the Carthaginians had applauded her successes and had signed friendly treaties. The absolute victory of Rome filled them with consternation. With alarm they beheld a single power ruling over the beautiful country which was bathed by the Tuscan, the Adriatic and the Ionian seas.

Sicily speedily became the cause of war between the two republics. Neither could abandon to a rival that splendid island which lies in the centre of the Mediterranean, touches Italy and looks out upon Africa. Carthage had been there long. Rome was invited thither by Mamertine mercenaries who had mastered Messina, which Hiero of Syracuse and the Carthaginians were besieging. The Romans delivered the city, defeated Hiero and imposed upon him a treaty to which he remained faithful for fifty years. Finally they expelled the Carthaginians from the interior of the island. The latter retained their seaports inasmuch as they were masters at sea. One fleet, constructed by the Romans and armed with powerful grappling irons, defeated the Carthaginian vessels in the first encounter. Another naval battle gained by Regulus at Ecnomos decided Rome to make a descent upon Africa. In a few months Carthage found herself reduced to her walls. The Lacedæmonian Xanthippus changed the aspect of affairs. After weakening Regulus by successive skirmishes, he defeated him in one great battle and destroyed his army. The war was again transferred to Sicily and

languished there for years. The victory of Metellus at Panormus revived the hopes of the Romans. Regulus was sent by Carthage to demand peace, which he exhorted the senate to refuse, and on his return is said to have been put to death with torture. But a great general had just arrived in Sicily, Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal. Fortifying himself at Eryx, he held the Romans in check for six years. Under these conditions the war might have dragged on many years longer, had not patriotism given to the senate a new fleet, that rendered the Romans supreme at sea. Hamilcar could not be provisioned. Carthage was compelled to end a ruinous war. She abandoned Sicily, restored all her prisoners without ransom and in the course of ten years paid 3200 Eubœan talents.

War of the Mercenaries against Carthage (241-238). — The soldiers of Carthage were not citizens but mercenaries. These mercenaries rebelled and for three years Carthaginian Africa was desolated by the Libyau war. Hamilcar delivered his country from this scourge, but fell under suspicion and was exiled to Spain, whose conquest he undertook. In a few years the whole country as far as the Ebro was subdued by him and his son-in-law Hasdrubal. Rome in alarm stopped their progress by a treaty which stipulated the liberty of Saguntum, a Græco-Latin city, south of the Ebro.

Second Punic War (218-201). — Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, wishing at any cost to renew the war against the Romans, attacked and destroyed this town without waiting for orders from Carthage. With a carefully equipped army he crossed the Pyrenees, the Rhone and the Alps. This audacious expedition consumed half of his forces but brought him into the midst of his allies, the Cisalpine Gauls. The consul Scipio was first beaten near the Ticinus in a cavalry engagement. A more serious affair on the banks of the Trebia drove the Romans from Cisalpine Gaul. In the following year they lost in Etruria, near Lake Thrasymentus, another sanguinary battle, and Hannibal was able to reach the centre and south of Italy. Thanks to the wise delay of the dictator Fabius several months passed without any fresh disaster. The awful battle of Cannæ, in 216, cost the legions 50,000 men. Capua with a part of southern Italy believed that the Romans were lost and renounced their allegiance. Rome was a marvel

of constancy. She abandoned offensive warfare, fortified the strongholds, and tried by a line of intrenched places to hem in the general who thus far had been so fortunate in battle. Before this circle was complete Hannibal quitted Campania.

Since Carthage sent him no assistance, he sought to rouse Sardinia, Sicily and Macedon. He summoned from Spain his brother Hasdrubal with a new army of Spaniards over the route which he himself had traced. But Sardinia was checked, rebellious Syracuse was taken by Marcellus despite the machines of Archimedes, and Philip of Macedon, vanquished on the banks of the Aoüs and threatened through the wiles of Rome by many Greek peoples, could not bring his phalanxes to assist Hannibal.

While her enemy made these fruitless efforts, Rome armed twenty legions, pressed Hannibal harder every day in Apulia and Lucania and waged a fierce war against Capua, to make a terrible example of that city which had been the first to give the signal of defection. To save it Hannibal forced his way to the very walls of Rome, but as vainly as Pyrrhus. Capua fell and its entire population was sold into slavery. Only one hope was left to Hannibal. His brother Hasdrubal was bringing him 60,000 men. Met on the banks of the Metaurus by the two consuls, Hasdrubal perished there with his whole army. Nevertheless Hannibal held out five years longer in the recesses of Brutium, until Scipio forced him from Italy by besieging Carthage.

The two Scipios, Cneus and Cornelius, had been fighting for years in Spain. After brilliant successes they were overcome by superior forces and perished. Marcius, a young knight, saved the few survivors and confidence was already returning, when Publius Scipio, barely twenty-four years of age, the son of Cornelius, arrived to take command. At the very beginning he distinguished himself by a daring stroke in the surprise of Carthage, the arsenal of the Carthaginians in the peninsula. Aided by the Spaniards, whom his gentleness had won over, he defeated Hasdrubal, but allowed him to escape. Then he crossed to Africa where he persuaded the Numidian king, Syphax, to sign an alliance with Rome.

Being rewarded for his successes by the consulship, he resolved to attack Carthage itself. Despite the opposition of Fabius, whom such rashness appalled, he landed his

army in Africa. Though the Numidians on whom he counted failed him he routed all the armies sent against him and left Carthage, which he threatened with a siege, no other alternative than the recall of Hannibal. That unequalled general was himself defeated at his last battle at Zama. To his honor Scipio did not demand the extradition of Hannibal but imposed the following conditions: Carthage might retain her laws and her African possessions, but must give up the prisoners and deserters, must surrender all her ships except ten, also all her elephants, and was to tame no more elephants in future; she must make no war, even in Africa, without the consent of Rome, and must raise no foreign mercenary troops; she must pay 10,000 talents in fifty years, must indemnify Massinissa and recognize him as an ally. To Scipio were delivered 4000 prisoners, a large number of fugitives whom he crucified or beheaded, and 500 ships which he burned on the open sea. Carthage was disarmed. That she might never recover, Scipio placed at her side a relentless enemy in Massinissa whom he recognized as king of Numidia.

Returning to Rome Scipio received a magnificent triumph. He gained the name of Africanus and was offered the consulship and dictatorship for life. Thus Rome forgot her laws to honor her fortunate general. She offered Scipio what she was afterwards to allow Cæsar to take. Zama was not only the end of the second Punic War but also the beginning of universal conquest.

Third Punic War (149-146). Destruction of Carthage. — After Zama the existence of Carthage was only one long death agony. In 193 Massinissa robbed her of the rich territory of Emporia, a few years afterward of other large tracts of land, and finally of the whole province of Tysca with sixty-three cities. The Carthaginians complained to Rome, and the Romans promised justice; but Massinissa retained the disputed territory. Cato was sent as arbitrator. He was astonished and indignant at finding Carthage wealthy, populous and prosperous. Returning with hatred in his heart, he henceforth closed his speeches with the invariable words, "Furthermore, I think Carthage must be destroyed" (*Delenda est Carthago*).

One day Carthage resisted an attack of Massinissa. The senate denounced this violation of the treaty. The two consuls immediately disembarked in Africa with 80,000

men. They demanded the surrender of all the weapons and machines of war. Then, after receiving everything, they ordered the Carthaginians to abandon their city and settle ten miles inland. Grief and indignation inflamed the tumultuous people. Day and night they spent in making arms. Hasdrubal collected in his camp at Nopheris as many as 70,000 men. The Roman operations being unsuccessful, the consulate was given to Scipio Æmilianus, the second Africanus, though he had asked only the ædileship. He restored discipline to the army and increased the courage of the soldiers.

Carthage was built upon an isthmus. Cutting off this isthmus by a trench and wall he prevented sorties. To starve out the 700,000 inhabitants he closed the port by an immense dike. The Carthaginians cut a new passage through the rock toward the open sea. A fleet, built from the wreck of their houses, came near surprising the Roman galleys but was repulsed by Scipio. When the ravages of famine had weakened the defence, he forced a part of the walls and took the city. The citadel, Byrsa, still held out. Situated at the centre, it could be reached only through long, narrow streets, where the Carthaginians intrenched in their houses offered desperate resistance. It took six days and six nights for the army to reach the foot of the citadel. The garrison of 50,000 men surrendered on condition of saving their lives. At their head was Hasdrubal. His wife, after taunting her husband from the top of the wall for his cowardice, cut the throats of her two children and threw herself into the flames. Scipio abandoned the smoking ruins to pillage. Commissioners sent by the senate reduced the Carthaginian territory to a Roman province called Africa (146).

IV

FOREIGN CONQUESTS OF ROME

(229-129)

Partial Conquest of Illyricum (229) and of Istria (221). — Between the first and second Punic wars, Rome had obtained a foothold upon the Greek continent. The Adriatic was then infested by Illyrian pirates, and Teuta, the widow of their last king, had butchered two insolent Roman envoys. The senate despatched 200 ships and 20,000 legionaries under the two consuls, who forced Teuta to pay tribute and to cede a large part of Illyricum. On occupying Istria the Romans became masters of one of the gates of Italy and also planted themselves at the north of Macedon which they threatened from Illyricum.

The Conquerors of Asia Minor, Macedon and Greece. — The wars against Antiochus, Philip, Perseus and the Achæans have been already mentioned. Here we will merely make brief reference to the generals in command.

Scipio Asiaticus, the conqueror of Antiochus at Magnesia, was the brother of Scipio Africanus, who accompanied him as his lieutenant. On their return to Rome, the tribunes accused the two brothers of accepting bribes to grant peace to the king of Syria. Scipio Africanus indignantly refused to answer, and quitted Rome. Scipio Asiaticus, degraded by Cato from the equestrian order, was condemned to pay the sum he was accused of receiving. His poverty proved his innocence.

Titus Quintus Flaminius was the conqueror of Philip at Cyncephalæ and the founder of the Roman policy in Greece. He remained there a long time after his command expired, so as to organize a Roman party in all the cities and to expel the enemies of the senate. Thus he thwarted the patriotic plans of Philopœmen and brought about the rebellion of Messene which cost that great citizen his life. He also demanded from Prusias, king of Bithynia,

the head of Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his states. The hero poisoned himself rather than fall into the hands of Rome.

Paulus Æmilius, who overthrew Perseus at Pydna, had won renown in the Lusitanian and Ligurian wars. His triumph, adorned with the spoils of Macedon, was the richest thus far seen. But of his two sons, who were to ride with him in his chariot, one had just died and the other expired three days later. Paulus Æmilius in his manly grief rejoiced that he was the one chosen to expiate the public prosperity. "My triumph," said he, "placed between the two funerals of my children, will satisfy the cruel sport of Fate. At the age of sixty years I find my hearth solitary, but the prosperity of the state consoles me."

Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth and of the Achæan league, was famous for his roughness. From the pillage of that opulent city he kept nothing for himself, but he made the persons who were to transport to Rome the masterpieces of Grecian art promise to replace whatever was lost or injured on the way.

Conquest of Spain (197-133). Viriathus. Numantia.— In Spain the war was longer and more difficult. The Spaniards, through hatred of Carthage, had supported the Romans during the second Punic War, but Rome did not grant them liberty. They revolted and Rome had to begin a reconquest of the whole country. Sixty-four years were required for the task. They slew 9000 men in the army of the Roman Galba. He pretended to treat, offered them fertile lands and then massacred 30,000 of them. Such perfidy bore its natural fruit. A herdsman, Viriathus, escaped from the massacre and carried on a guerilla war in which the Romans lost their best soldiers. During five years he defeated all the generals sent against him. One day he surrounded the Consul Fabius in a narrow pass and forced him to sign a treaty, that declared "There shall be peace between the Roman people and Viriathus." Cepio, the brother of Fabius, avenged him by fraud. He hired two officers of Viriathus to assassinate their chief. Thereupon his followers surrendered and were removed by Cepio to the shores of the Mediterranean where they built Valencia.

The Spanish war in the north toward Numantia was tedious and obstinate. Consul after consul was baffled or

defeated until the general arrived who had conquered Carthage. Gradually Scipio forced the Numantines back into their city, and surrounded it by four lines of intrenchments. Hard pressed by horrible famine, the inhabitants demanded battle but Scipio refused. Then they slew each other. Only fifty Numantines followed his triumphal chariot in Rome. Even then the northern mountaineers were not subdued. Spain was completely pacified only under Augustus. In 124 Metellus took possession of the Balearic Islands after nearly exterminating their inhabitants, and in 133 Attalus ceded his kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans.

Thus thirty years before Christ, the city which we have seen rise upon the Palatine Hill ruled from the Spanish coast on the Western Ocean to the centre of Asia Minor. She possessed the three peninsulas of southern Europe, Spain, Italy and Greece. Between Italy and Greece, through the subjection of the Illyrians, she had secured herself a road around the Adriatic, and Marseilles lent her its vessels and its pilots from the Var to the Ebro. Thus her conquest of the ancient world was far advanced. Her success was due to three forces which in politics generate other forces also. These were an astute senate, where the traditions of government were long preserved, a sagacious people, amenable to the laws which they had made for themselves, and that organized discipline in the legions which formed the most perfect military engine the world had yet known.

V

FIRST CIVIL WARS. THE GRACCHI. MARIUS. SULLA

(133-79)

Results of Roman Conquests on Roman Manners and Constitution.— Yet the conquest of so many wealthy provinces had upon the manners and likewise upon the constitution of the Romans disastrous effects, which were already felt, and which on development were to destroy both the republic and liberty. Ancient simplicity was gradually abandoned. The descendants of Fabricius, Curius Dentatus and Regulus displayed a ruinous luxury. To replace the sums squandered in debauch or in empty display, they robbed their allies and the public treasury. The censors, guardians of the public manners, had already been forced to expel certain high-born personages from the senate. If the great became greedy, the people became venal. The middle class had disappeared, decimated by continuous wars, ruined by the decay of agriculture and by the competition of the slaves and free laborers.

In place of that robust, proud, energetic population which had founded liberty and conquered Italy, there began to be seen in Rome only an idle, hungry crowd of beggars, continually recruited by the emancipation of slaves, inheriting neither the ideas nor the blood of the ancient plebeians. "There are not two thousand property-holders," said one of the tribunes. Such then was the situation. Two or three hundred families possessed millions, and below, very far below, were 300,000 beggars. Nothing between these two extremes of an arrogant aristocracy and a feeble and servile mob. The Gracchi undertook two things: to restore respect for the laws among those nobles who no longer respected anything; and to reawaken the sentiments of citizenship among men who were still called the sovereign people, but whom Scipio Æmilianus knowing their origin dubbed counterfeited sons of Italy.

The Gracchi (133-121). — Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in 133, began with the people. To regain their former virtues, they must resume their former habits. He wished to convert the poor into landowners, and to regenerate them by means of work. The republic owned immense territory, which had been encroached upon by the nobles. His project was to reclaim these appropriated lands and distribute them among the poor in small, inalienable lots. The reaffirmed Licinian law forbade any person to possess more than 500 jugera of public lands. However, he promised an indemnity for any outlay which occupants had made upon the property restored by them. The nobles resisted stubbornly. Tiberius, to break the veto of one of his colleagues, Octavius, caused him to be deposed. By thus trampling under foot the inviolable tribuneship, he provided a dangerous example, of which advantage was taken against himself. The nobles armed their slaves, attacked his partisans and slew him on the steps of the Capitol (133).

In 123 Caius Gracchus was elected tribune, and openly resumed his brother's plans. He caused the agrarian law to be confirmed, established distributions of corn to the people, founded colonies for the poor citizens and dealt a fatal blow to the authority of the senate by taking from it the administration of justice and giving it to the knights. During two years he was all-powerful in the city. But the senate to ruin his credit caused, for every measure he proposed, some more popular measure to be brought forward by one of their creatures, and Caius was unable to obtain reelection for a third term. This check was a signal for which the Consul Opimius had been waiting. Caius suffered the fate of his brother, and 3000 of his partisans perished with him (121). The tribunes were dumb with terror during the next twelve years, and only recovered their voice at the scandals of the Numidian war, which brought into prominence Marius, the avenger of the Gracchi.

Marius. Conquest of Numidia (118-104). — He was a rough, illiterate citizen of Arpinum, an intrepid soldier and good general. Scipio had noticed him at the siege of Numantia. The support of Metellus, who had always protected his family, gave him the tribuneship in 119. At once he introduced a decree against intrigue. All the nobility denounced this audacity on the part of an unknown young man; but in the senate Marius threatened the consul with

prison and summoned his viator to arrest Metellus. The populace applauded. A few days later, the tribune forbade a gratuitous distribution of grain. This assumption of the right to read a lesson to both parties turned every one against him. His zeal diminished with difficulty of promotion. He served obscurely as a prætor in Rome and a proprætor in Spain. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a great marriage. He wedded the patrician Julia, great-aunt of Cæsar; and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune in consideration of his military talents, took him to Numidia.

Micipsa, son of Massinissa and king of Numidia, had at his death (118) divided his states between his two sons and his nephew Jugurtha. The latter rid himself of one rival by assassination. Unable to surprise the other, he attacked him with open force in spite of Roman protection, and put him to death with torture, when famine had compelled his victim to open the gates of Cirtha, his last refuge (112). The senate had in vain sent two embassies to save him. Such audacity called for chastisement, but the first general sent against Jugurtha accepted bribes (111). A tribune summoned the king to Rome. Jugurtha had the hardihood to appear, but when one tribune ordered him to answer, another, whom he had bought, prohibited his replying.

A competitor for the Numidian throne was in the city. He had him killed (110). The senate ordered him to leave Rome at once. "City for sale!" he cried, as he passed through the gates; "thou only lackest a purchaser!" A consul followed him to Africa. The legions, cut off by the Numidians, repeated the disgrace endured before Numantia and passed under the yoke.

This war, which they had played with at first, soon became alarming, for the Cimbrians were threatening Italy with one more terrible. The honest but severe Metellus was sent to Numidia. He restored discipline and pursued his tireless enemy without truce or relaxation. He defeated him near Muthul (109), and took from him Vacca, his capital, Sicca, Cirtha and all the coast cities. When about to destroy the usurper, his lieutenant was appointed consul (107), and robbed him of the honor of finishing this war. The new general came near killing Jugurtha in battle with his own hand and made him fall back upon Mauritania. Jugurtha fled as a suppliant to his father-in-law Bocchus,

who delivered him to the Romans. The captive monarch in chains (106) traversed his whole kingdom, followed Marius to Rome, and after the triumph was thrown into the Tullianum, a prison excavated in the Capitoline mount. "By the gods," he exclaimed with a laugh, "how cold your baths are." He died there six days after from hunger (104). Part of Numidia was added to the province of Africa.

Invasion of the Cimbri and the Teutones (113-102).—This success arrived at a fortunate time to reassure Rome, then threatened by a great peril. Three hundred thousand Cimbri and Teutones, retreating before an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube, defeated a consul (113), and for three years had been devastating Noricum, Pannonia and Illyricum. When there was nothing left to take, the horde fought its way into Gaul and crushed five Roman armies (110-105). Italy was uncovered but, instead of crossing the Alps, the barbarians turned toward Spain, and Rome had time to recall Marius from Africa. In order to harden his soldiers, he subjected them to the severest labors. When a part of the horde reappeared, he refused for a long time to fight, that his army might become accustomed to seeing the barbarians close at hand. The action took place near Aix, and the Romans made a horrible carnage among the Teutones (102).

Meanwhile the Cimbri, who had flanked the Alps, entered the peninsula through the valley of the Adige. Marius returned in all haste to the banks of the Po to the succor of his colleague Cæcilius. The barbarians were awaiting the arrival of the Teutones before fighting. They even asked Marius for lands for themselves and their brethren. "Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren," the consul replied; "they have the land which we have given them, and which they will keep forever." The Cimbri allowed him to choose the day and place of battle. At Vercellæ, as at Aix, there was an immense massacre. Nevertheless more than 60,000 were made prisoners, but twice as many were massacred. The barbarian women, rather than be taken captive, slew their children and then killed themselves (101).

Renewal of Civil Troubles. Saturninus (106-98).—Marius had been continued four successive years in the consulship in reward of his services. His ambition was not satisfied. On reëntering Rome, he intrigued for the fasces of the

magistracy. The nobles thought that the peasant of Arpinum had been honored enough. They put up Metellus Numidicus, his personal enemy, against him and reduced him to buying votes. Marius could not pardon this insult, and had them attacked by Saturninus, a low demagogue. Saturninus aspired to the tribunate. A partisan of the nobles was elected but the demagogue slew him and seized his place. For the benefit of Marius' veterans he immediately proposed an agrarian law, opposition to which caused the exile of Metellus.

Soon afterwards Metellus was recalled. That he might not witness his triumphant return, Marius betook himself to Asia in the secret hope of bringing about a rupture between Mithridates and the republic (98). He needed a war to restore his credit in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. "They look upon me," he said, "as a sword which rusts in peace."

Sulla. The Italian Revolt (91-88).—The wars with Jugurtha and the Cimbri had made the fortune of the plebeian Marius. Three other wars made the fortune of the patrician Sulla, who has left a sanguinary name. Descendant of the illustrious Cornelian house, he was Marius' first quæstor in the Numidian war. Ambitious, brave, eloquent, zealous and energetic, Sulla soon became dear to the soldiers and their officers. Marius himself loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors, and confided to him the dangerous mission of treating with Bocchus. It was into Sulla's hands that Jugurtha was betrayed. Marius associated him with his triumph, and employed him again in the war with the Cimbri. A misunderstanding having arisen, Sulla joined the army of Catulus. Later on, he commanded in Asia. The Social War brought his talents into prominence.

It was a period of general ferment. In the city, the people were rising against the nobles; in Sicily, the slaves were rebelling against their masters. Her allies were turning against Rome, whom they brought to the brink of the abyss. The Italians, after long sharing all the dangers of the Romans, wished to enjoy equal privileges and claimed the right of citizenship. Scipio Æmilianus, Tiberius Gracchus, Saturninus and finally the tribune Drusus encouraged them to hope for this title of citizen, which would have relieved them from the exactions and violence of the Roman

magistrates. But the knights assassinated Drusus, and the allies, wearied by their long patience, resolved to obtain justice by force of arms.

Eight peoples of central and southern Italy exchanged hostages and arranged a general rising. They were together to form but one republic, organized after the pattern of Rome, with a senate of 500 members, two consuls and twelve prætors. Their capital was to be the stronghold Corfinium, which they called by the significant name of Italica. The Latins, the Etruscans, the Umbrians and the Gauls remained faithful to their allegiance. The signal was given from Asculum, where the consul Servilius was massacred together with all the Romans who were in the town; even the women were not spared (90). At first the allies had the advantage. Campania was invaded, one consul routed, another killed. Marius, who held a command, accomplished nothing worthy of his reputation. He contented himself with acting on the defensive, and soon he even withdrew, alleging his infirmities. His former relations with the Italians did not permit him to play a more active part. Sulla, who was hampered by nothing, was on the contrary energetic and deserved all the honor of this brief and terrible war. The prudence of the senate aided the skill of the generals. The Julian and Plautia-Papirian laws, which accorded the right of citizenship to the allies who had remained loyal, led to desertions, and at the end of the second year only the Samnites and Lucanians remained under arms. From the new citizens eight tribes were formed.

In this way Sulla had gained the consulship and the command of the war against Mithridates which Marius solicited in vain. This was the beginning of their rivalry and of the civil wars which led to military rule.

Proscriptions in Rome. Sulpicius and Cinna (88-84). — In order to annul the last-mentioned decree Marius made an agreement with the tribune Sulpicius, and a riot forced the new consul to leave Rome (88); but he came back at the head of his troops. Marius in turn fled before a sentence which put a price on his life. Dragged from the marshes of Minturnæ, where he had taken refuge, and covered with mire, he was thrown into the city prison. A Cimbrian, sent to kill him, was terrified by his glance and words and dared not strike. The inhabitants, who cherished no anger against the friend of the Italians, employed as a pretext the reli-

gious dread which he had inspired and furnished him the means to cross over into Africa.

However in Rome Sulla had diminished by several laws the power of the tribunes of the people. Hardly had he departed for Asia, when the consul Cinna demanded that their dangerous power be restored. On being driven out of Rome he began a war against the senate. Marius hastened to return and join him. With an army of fugitive slaves and Italians they routed the troops of the senate, forced the gates of the city and put to death the friends of Sulla. For five days and five nights they slew without cessation, even on the altars of the gods. From Rome the proscription spread over Italy. They murdered in the cities and on the highways. It was forbidden under pain of death to bury the dead, who lay where they had fallen until devoured by dogs and birds of prey.

On January 1, 86, Marius and Cinna seized the consulship without election; but debauch hastened the end of the former. Twelve days afterward he expired. He had set a price on Sulla's head. Valerius Flaccus undertook to get it, but was himself killed by one of his lieutenants. Cinna, thus left alone, continued himself in the consulship during the two following years, and fell under the blows of his soldiers.

Victory of Sulla. His Proscriptions and Dictatorship (84-79).—At that moment Sulla was returning from Asia to avenge his friends and himself. His 40,000 veterans were so devoted to his person that they offered him their savings to fill his military chest. Unopposed he made his way into Campania (83), defeated one army, corrupted another and vanquished the son of Marius in the great battle of Sacriportus (82). This success opened the road to Rome. He arrived there too late to prevent fresh murders. The most illustrious senators had been massacred in the curia itself. Sulla rapidly passed through Rome on his way to fight the other consul, Carbo, in Etruria. One desperate battle which lasted all day had no result; but desertions decided Carbo to flee to Africa. Sertorius, another leader of the popular party, had already set out for Spain; only the young Marius, who was shut up in Præneste, remained in Italy. The Italians tried by a bold stroke to save him. A Samnite chief, Pontus Telesinus, who had not laid down his arms since the Social War, tried to surprise Rome and

destroy it. Sulla had time to arrive. The battle near the Colline Gate lasted one whole day and night. The left wing commanded by Sulla was routed; but Crassus with the right wing dispersed the enemy. The field of battle was strewn with 50,000 corpses, half of which were Roman.

The next day Sulla harangued the senate in the temple of Bellona. Suddenly cries of despair were heard and the senators became uneasy. "It is nothing," said he, "except the punishment of a few seditious persons," and he continued his discourse. Meanwhile 8000 Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were being slain. When he returned from Præneste, which had surrendered and all of whose population had been massacred, the butchery began in Rome. Every day a list of the outlawed was drawn up. From the first of December, 82, to the first of June, 81, during six long months, men could murder with impunity. There were assassinations afterward also, for Sulla's intimates sold the right to place a name on the fatal list. "One man's splendid villa, or the marble baths of another, or the magnificent gardens of a third caused him to perish." The property of the proscribed was confiscated, and sold at auction. The estate of Roscius was valued at six million sesterces, and Chrysogonus got it for two thousand. What was the number of the victims? Appian mentions ninety senators, fifteen former consuls and 2600 knights. Valerius Maximus speaks of 4700 proscribed. "But who could reckon," says another, "all those who were sacrificed to private grudge?" The proscription did not stop with the victims. The sons and grandsons of the proscribed were declared forever ineligible to a public office. In Italy entire peoples were outlawed. The richest cities, Spoletum, Interamna, Præneste, Terni, Florence, were, so to speak, sold at auction. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.

After having slain men by the sword, Sulla tried to destroy the popular party by laws. To issue these laws he had himself proclaimed dictator, and took all the measures which he thought calculated to assure the power in Rome to the aristocracy. To the senate he restored the right of decision and of preliminary discussion, or in other words the legislative veto. He deprived the tribunes of the right to present a rogation to the people. Their veto was restricted to civil affairs, and the tribune could hold no other office.

Thus the people and the nobles moved backward four centuries; the former to the obscurity of the time when they withdrew to Mons Sacer, the latter to the brilliancy and power of the early days of the republic.

When Sulla had accomplished his purposes, he abdicated. This abdication (76) seemed a defiance of his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own fortunes. He lived a year longer in the retirement of his villa at Cumæ. The epitaph he had written for himself was veracious: "No one has ever done more good to his friends, or more evil to his enemies."

The Popular Party ruined by the Defeat of Sertorius (72). — The popular party was crushed at Rome. Sertorius tried to revive it in Spain. Driven out at first by one of Sulla's lieutenants before he had had time to organize anything, and then recalled by the Lusitanians, he gained over the Spaniards who thought that they were fighting for their independence. Successfully he resisted for ten years the best generals of the senate (82-72). He wore out Metellus, his first adversary, by a war of skirmishes and surprises, and defeated Pompey in many encounters. Unfortunately the clever leader was badly seconded. Whenever he was absent his lieutenants were worsted. He was assassinated in his tent by Perpenna, one of his officers, who, unable to carry on the war which his victim had conducted, fell into the hands of Pompey. The conqueror boasted that he had captured 800 cities and ended the Civil Wars. The latter had in fact been averted but only for twenty years.

VI

FROM SULLA TO CÆSAR. POMPEY AND CICERO

(79-60)

War against Mithridates under Sulla (90-84). — The shock which the empire had undergone from the popular turmoils in the times of the Gracchi and Marius, from the revolt of the slaves in Sicily, and the Social War in Italy, had affected the provinces. The provincials, horribly oppressed by the governors, wished to escape from that Roman domination in which the Italians merely had demanded a share. The Western provincials had joined Sertorius. Those in the East followed Mithridates.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, had subdued many Scythian nations beyond the Caucasus, also the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and in Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Phrygia and Bithynia. The senate, alarmed at this great power which was forming in the neighborhood of its provinces, ordered the prætor of Asia to restore the Bithynian and Cappadocian kings to their thrones (90). Mithridates silently made immense preparations. When he learned that Italy was on fire, through the insurrection of the Samnite peoples, he deluged Asia with his armies. Such hatred had the greed of the Roman publicans everywhere excited, that 80,000 Italians were assassinated in Asiatic cities at the order of Mithridates. Having subdued Asia, the king of Pontus invaded Greece and captured Athens (88). At any cost this conqueror who dared approach Italy must be stopped. Fortunately the Social War was nearing its end. In the spring of 87 Sulla arrived in Greece with five legions, and began the siege of Athens which lasted ten months. The city was bathed in blood. The Pontic army encountered Sulla near Chæronea. His soldiers were appalled at the hosts of the enemy. Like Marius he exhausted them with work until they themselves demanded battle. Of the 120,000 Asiatics only 10,000 escaped.

Sulla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory, when he

learned that the consul Valerius Flaccus was crossing the Adriatic with an army to rob him of the honor of terminating this war, and to execute the decree of proscription issued against him at Rome. At the same time Dorylaos, a general of Mithridates, arrived from Asia with 80,000 men. Thus placed between two perils Sulla chose the more glorious. He marched against Dorylaos whom he met in Bœotia near Orchomenus. This time the engagement was fierce; Sulla was wounded but the Asiatic hordes were again dispersed. Thebes and three other cities of Bœotia met the fate of Athens.

While he was winning this second victory, Flaccus had preceded him into Asia. Mithridates, threatened by two armies, secretly sued for peace from Sulla, intimating that he could obtain very mild terms from Fimbria, who had killed Flaccus and was making war on his own account. Mithridates vainly hoped to profit by the rivalry of the two chiefs. Finally the king humbly asked for an interview. It took place at Dardanus in the Troad. Mithridates made full submission, restored his conquests, delivered up the captives and deserters with 2000 talents and seventy galleys. Fimbria was then in Lydia. Sulla marched upon him, won over his army and reduced him to suicide (84). With the soldiers trained in this war he returned to Italy to overthrow the party of Marius.

War against Mithridates under Lucullus and Pompey (74-63). — When six years later the king of Pontus heard of the dictator's death (78), he secretly incited the king of Armenia, Tigranes, to invade Cappadocia, and he himself prepared to enter the arena. All the barbaric tribes from the Caucasus to the Balkans furnished auxiliaries. Roman exiles drilled his troops and Sertorius sent him officers from Spain (74).

Lucullus, proconsul of Cilicia, having received orders to oppose him, was marching on Pontus, when he learned that his colleague Cotta had been twice defeated and blocked in Macedon (74). Hastening to his help, he drove Mithridates into Cyzicus, where that prince would have been captured had not a subordinate officer been negligent. Then he penetrated into Pontus and took the stronghold of Amisus (72). In the following year he surrounded the enemy again. The king escaped by scattering his treasures along the road so as to delay pursuit. He found refuge with Tigranes, who

was then the most powerful monarch of the East, being master of Armenia and Syria, conqueror of the Parthians, and bearing the title of King of kings. Mithridates in his former prosperity had refused to recognize his supremacy. Therefore he was coldly received, but when Lucullus demanded that he should be surrendered, Tigranes in anger dismissed the envoy of the Roman general. The latter immediately began hostilities against his new enemy. He crossed the Tigris and with 11,000 foot and a few horse marched to encounter 250,000 Armenians. He dispersed the immense army of Tigranes and captured his capital, Tigranocerta.

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, where he invited the king of the Parthians to join him. As that prince hesitated, he resolved to attack him, for he held in profound contempt those mobs which their princes mistook for armies. But his officers and soldiers, content with the immense booty they had already captured, refused, like those of Alexander, to follow him further. In 67 Pompey came to replace him. Mithridates had collected another army, which was destroyed at the first encounter, and Tigranes, threatened by a treacherous and rebellious son who fled to the Romans, was forced to humble himself. Reassured in this direction, Pompey pursued Mithridates to the Caucasus and conquered the Albanians and the Iberians. As the king still fled before him, he abandoned this fruitless pursuit. In the spring of 64, after having organized the Roman administration in Pontus, he descended into Syria, reduced that country and Phœnicia to provinces and captured Jerusalem, where he reëstablished Hyrcanus who promised an annual tribute.

During these operations, Mithridates, who was reputed dead, reappeared with an army on the Bosphorus and forced his son Machares to kill himself. Then, despite his sixty years, this indomitable enemy wished to penetrate Thrace, attach the barbarians to his cause and descend upon Italy at the head of their innumerable hordes. His soldiers, alarmed at the magnitude of his plans, revolted at the instigation of his son Pharnaces. In order to escape being delivered alive to the Romans, he had himself killed by a Gaul (63). Pompey had only to finish in Asia "the splendid work of the Roman empire," distributing principalities and kingdoms to the friends of the senate.

Revival of the Popular Party at Rome. The Gladiators (71).—After the death of Sulla and during the recent war against Mithridates, events of considerable importance had been taking place in Italy. The consul Lepidus had aroused a tempest by merely uttering the words: "Re-establishment of the authority of the tribuneship." The whole party, which Sulla thought he had drowned in blood, had at once raised its head. The governor of Cisalpine Gaul joined Lepidus. The senate and the patricians trembled when Pompey, still at the head of the army which he had himself raised against the followers of Marius, offered to fight the new chiefs of the people. He vanquished one at the Milvian Bridge close to the gates of Rome and the other in Cisalpine Gaul. We have seen his success in pacifying Spain.

Seventy-eight gladiators escaped from Capua, where they were being trained in great numbers, and seized upon a natural stronghold under the guidance of a Thracian slave Spartacus. There they repulsed troops sent against them. This success attracted to their ranks many herdsmen of the neighborhood. A second general was beaten. Spartacus wished to lead his army toward the Alps, cross those mountains and restore each slave to his native country. His men, greedy for booty and vengeance, refused to follow and dispersed all over Italy for pillage. Then two consuls were defeated. Crassus finally succeeded in shutting up the gladiators in the extreme end of Brutium, whither their chief had conducted them with the intention of leading them across into Sicily. Before the investment was complete Spartacus took advantage of a snowy night to escape. Dissension arose among his men and several detached corps were destroyed. Spartacus alone seemed invincible. The confidence which his successes inspired among the gladiators ended in his ruin. They forced him to fight a decisive battle, in which he succumbed after having displayed heroic courage (71). Shortly afterward Pompey arrived from Spain. He met several bands of these unfortunate men and cut them in pieces. From this paltry victory he attributed to himself the honor of having terminated this war.

Pompey turns toward the People. War with the Pirates (67).—The nobles began to think that the vainglorious general had held commands enough and received him coldly. The people on the contrary to win him to their side greeted

him with applause, so Pompey inclined toward the popular party. He proposed a law which restored to the tribunate its ancient prerogatives. This was the overthrow of Sulla's constitution. The grateful populace committed to him the charge of an easy but brilliant expedition against the pirates who infested the seas (67), and the command of the war against Mithridates whom Lucullus had already reduced. While accomplishing these enterprises, a memorable conspiracy was on the point of overturning the republic itself.

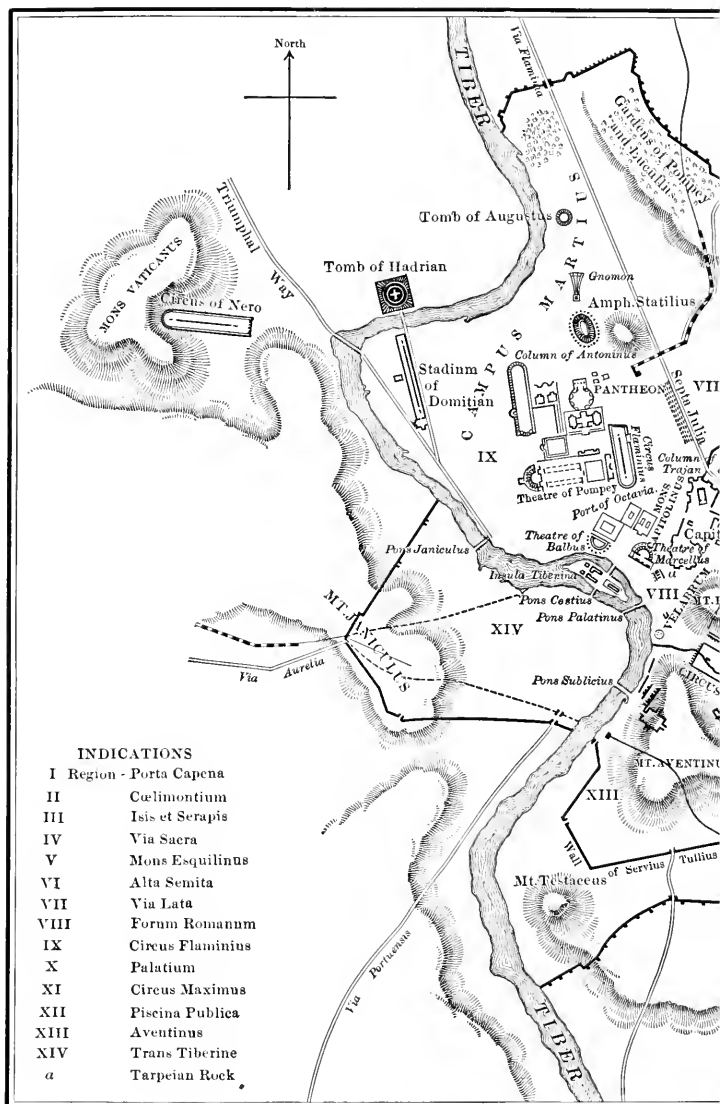
Cicero. Conspiracy of Catiline (63). — Cicero, like Marius, came from Arpinum. His fluent and flowery speech early revealed in him the ready orator. After a few successes at the bar he had the wisdom to continue his studies in Greece. He began his public career as a quæstor, and in the name of the Sicilians arraigned Verres, their former governor, the most shameless and greedy plunderer that Rome had ever seen. This trial, which had immense celebrity, raised to the highest pitch the renown of the prosecutor, whose speeches against Verres we still admire at the present day. Cicero being a new man needed support. He sought that of Pompey and helped to confer extraordinary powers upon him. Eventually recognizing the goal whither that ambitious general was tending, he labored to form a party of honest men who assumed the mission of defending the republic. His consulship appears to have been the realization of this plan.

The government was then menaced by a vast conspiracy. Catiline during the proscriptions had signalized himself among the most bloodthirsty. He had killed his brother-in-law, and murdered his wife and son to secure another woman in marriage. While proprætor in Africa he had committed terrible extortions. On his return he solicited the consulship, but a deputation from his province brought accusations against him, and the senate struck his name from the list of candidates. He had long been in league with the criminal classes at Rome. His plot to kill the consuls twice failed, and the enterprise was postponed to the year 63. Cicero was then consul, and realized how imminent was the danger. Catiline had collected forces in several places. The veterans of Umbria, Etruria and Samnium were arming in his cause. The fleet at Ostia was apparently won over: Sittius in Africa promised to stir up that province and perhaps Spain also to rebellion. In Rome

itself, Catiline believed he could count upon the consul Antonius. One of the conspirators was a tribune elect, another a prætor. In a full senate Catiline had dared to say, "The Roman people is a robust body without a head: I will be that head." It soon became known that troops were mustering in Picenum and Apulia, and that Manlius, one of Sulla's former officers, was threatening Fæsulæ with an army. The consuls were invested by the senate with discretionary power, but Catiline remained in Rome. Cicero drove him out by a vehement oration, in which he disclosed the conspirator's plans. Having thus expelled the leader, who joined Manlius and thereby proclaimed himself a public enemy, he seized his accomplices, caused their condemnation by the senate and had them executed at once. This energy disheartened the rest of the conspirators. Antonius himself marched against Catiline, who was slain near Pistoia, after having fought valiantly.

On quitting office, when Cicero wished to harangue the people, a factious tribune ordered that he should confine himself to the customary oath of having done nothing contrary to the laws. "I swear," exclaimed Cicero, "I swear that I have saved the republic!" To this eloquent outburst Cato and the senators responded by saluting him with the title, "Father of his country," which the whole people confirmed by their applause.





VII

CÆSAR

(60-44)

Cæsar, Leader of the Popular Party. His Consulship (60).

— Cæsar, of the illustrious Julian family which claimed descent from Venus through Iulus, the son of Anchises, had braved Sulla when only seventeen years old. Nominated curule ædile in 65, he had won the people by magnificent games, and in spite of the senate had restored to the Capitol the trophies of his great-uncle Marius. The grateful people had nominated him sovereign pontiff. In 62 he already was in debt 850 talents. The wealthy Crassus, who owned a whole quarter in Rome, had to become his bondsman. Otherwise his debtors would not allow him to depart and take possession of his province of Farther Spain.

When he returned in 60, he found Pompey and Crassus at variance with the senate; the first because it did not ratify his acts in Asia, the second because it left him no influence in the state. Cæsar brought them together, and induced them to form a secret union which has been designated as the triumvirate. All three swore to unite their resources and influence, and in every matter to act only in accordance with their common interest. Cæsar reaped the first and the surest profits from the alliance. His two colleagues agreed to support him for the consulship. In office he secured popularity by proposing and carrying an agrarian law in spite of the senate and of his colleague Bibulus. He won over the equestrian order by diminishing by a third the rents which the knights paid the state. He caused the acts of Pompey in Asia to be confirmed, and obtained for himself the government of Cisalpine Gaul and of Illyricum with three legions for a term of five years. In vain did Cato cry with prophetic voice: "You are arming tyranny and setting it in a fortress above your heads!" The trembling senate added as an earnest of reconciliation a fourth

legion and a third province, Transalpine Gaul, where war was imminent (59). Before his departure Cæsar took great care to have Clodius, one of his creatures, appointed tribune. Thus he could hold both the senate and Pompey in check during his absence. Clodius soon delivered him from two obnoxious persons, Cato and Cicero, accusing the great orator of illegally putting to death Catiline's accomplices. Clodius secured against him a sentence of exile to a distance of 400 miles from Rome. Cato was ordered to reduce Cyprus to a province.

The Gallic War. Victories over the Helvetii, Ariovistus, and the Belgæ (58-57). — Since 125 the Romans had held Narbonensis, a province in Gaul, and were on friendly terms with the Ædui, a tribe in central Gaul. Their neighbors, the Sequani, were attacked by Ariovistus, a German chief. He had crossed the Rhine with 120,000 Suevi, overthrown the Sequani and Ædui, and harshly oppressed eastern Gaul. This was the beginning of the Germanic invasion. Another fact directed Cæsar's attention to this quarter. The Helvetii, constantly attacked by the Suevi, wished to abandon their mountains and seek on the shores of the ocean a milder climate and an easier existence. Cæsar resolved to oppose these changes as unfavorable to Roman supremacy. The Helvetii having crossed the Jura in spite of his prohibition, he exterminated many of them on the banks of the Saône, and forced the rest to return to their mountains. Then in a sanguinary encounter he drove Ariovistus back beyond the Rhine (58). Gaul was delivered. As the legions established their camps at the very frontiers of Belgium, the Belgic tribes grew alarmed at seeing the Romans so near them. They formed a vast league, which was broken by the treachery of the Remi, and the tribes, attacked separately, were forced to submit.

Submission of Armoricum and Aquitaine. Expeditions to Britain and beyond the Rhine (56-53). — The third campaign subdued Armoricum and the Aquitani. In the fourth and fifth, two expeditions beyond the Rhine deprived the barbarians of all desire of crossing that river or of aiding the Gauls in their resistance. Two descents upon Britain cut off Gaul from that island, the centre of the druidic religion. The whole of Gaul was apparently resigned to the yoke.

General Insurrection. Vercingetorix. — Nevertheless a

general insurrection was preparing from the Garonne to the Seine. A young chieftain of the Arverni, Vercingetorix, directed the movement (52). The legions were dispersed but Cæsar acted with great celerity and skill. With his lieutenant, Labienus, who had won a battle near Paris, Cæsar attacked 200,000 Gauls, who were trying to cut him off from the Alps. He gained a decisive victory, crowded his enemy into Alesia, and surrounded it with formidable earthworks. Vercingetorix was forced to surrender.

Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians. — While Cæsar was conquering Gaul by his activity and genius, one of the triumvirs, Crassus, undertook an expedition against the Parthians. After pillaging the temples of Syria and Jerusalem, he crossed the Euphrates with seven legions, plunged into the immense plains of Mesopotamia and soon encountered the innumerable cavalry of the Parthians. When these horsemen hurled themselves upon the legions, the Roman arms and courage proved of no avail against the tactics of the enemy. When they advanced, the Parthians fled; when they halted, the squadrons hovered around the stationary host and slew them with arrows from a distance. Disheartened, the legions retreated to Carrhæ, leaving 4000 wounded. The very next day the Roman army was overtaken by the Parthians, and the terrified soldiers forced Crassus to accept an interview with the surena, or Parthian general-in-chief. The interview was an ambushade. Crassus and his escort were killed. Only a few feeble remnants recrossed the Euphrates (53).

Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey (49-48). — Between the two surviving triumvirs peace could not long endure. While Crassus was fighting in Syria and Cæsar in Gaul, Pompey had remained in Rome. Daily insulted by Clodius, he soon recalled Cicero, the personal enemy of that demagogue, and then stirred up the tribune Milo, who opposed Clodius with a band of gladiators and finally killed him. The senate won Pompey to its side by causing his election as sole consul with absolute power (52). This was monarchy in disguise; but the senate desired a general and an army to oppose Cæsar, whose glory daily became more menacing. Cato approved these concessions. Though Pompey was a usurper, his usurpation was acquired by legal means; but how was he to defend himself against his

former associate in the triumvirate? Then began attacks upon Cæsar, for the purpose of taking away his command. In vain did the tribune Curio declare that Pompey must abdicate to save liberty, if Cæsar were dispossessed. On January 1, 49, a decree of the senate declared Cæsar a public enemy if by a certain day he did not abandon his troops and his provinces. Two tribunes who opposed were threatened by the followers of Pompey and fled to Cæsar's camp. He no longer hesitated, crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his government, and in sixty days drove from Italy Pompey and the senators who wished to follow him (49). Then he attacked the Pompeian party in Spain and forced it to lay down its arms. On his way back he captured Marseilles and returned to Rome where the people had conferred upon him the title of dictator.

Pompey had retired toward Dyrrachium in Epirus and thence called to him all the forces of the East. In January, 48, Cæsar crossed the Adriatic, and although his army was greatly inferior in numbers tried to surround his adversary. Being repulsed in an attack against positions which were too strong, and in need of food, he marched to Thessaly whither Pompey imprudently followed. The battle of Pharsalia, the defeat and flight of Pompey to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered at the moment of his disembarkation in a supposed friendly land, left Cæsar without a rival.

War of Alexandria. Cæsar Dictator (48-44). — With his usual activity, he had followed on the heels of Pompey and had arrived in Egypt a few days after him. The ministers of the young Ptolemy expected a reward for their treachery. He showed only horror. Fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra, the sister of the king, he wished her to reign jointly with her brother. Then the ministers stirred up the immense population of Alexandria, and the victor of Pharsalia beheld himself with 7000 legionaries besieged for seven months in the palace of the Lagidæ. Reinforcements came to him from Asia. He assumed the offensive and defeated the royal army. The fleeing king was drowned in the Nile, and Cleopatra remained sole mistress of Egypt (48). Cæsar returned to Rome by way of Asia, where he routed Pharnaces. *Veni, vidi, vici*, he wrote to the senate (47). Another war awaited him. The survivors of Pharsalia, who had taken refuge in Africa, now formed a formidable

army supported by Juba, king of the Numidians. He conquered it at Thapsus and captured Utica, where Cato had just committed suicide rather than survive liberty (46).

The sons of Pompey roused Spain to revolt in the following year. This last was a difficult struggle. At Munda Cæsar was obliged to fight for his life, but his enemies were crushed. All the honors which flattery could invent were bestowed upon the conqueror. He was declared almost a god. All the prerogatives of authority were surrendered to him. However no man ever made a nobler use of his power. There were no proscriptions. All injuries were forgotten. Discipline was sternly maintained in the army. The people, while surfeited with festivals and games, were firmly ruled and Italian agriculture was encouraged as the Gracchi had wished that it should be. No new names were invented for this new authority. The senate, the comitia, the magistracies, existed as in the past. Only Cæsar concentrated in himself all public action by uniting in his own hands all the offices of the republic. As dictator for life and consul for five years, he had the executive power with the right to draw upon the treasury; as imperator, the military power; as tribune, the veto on the legislative power. Chief of the senate, he directed the debates of that assembly; prefect of customs, he decided them according to his pleasure; grand pontiff, he made religion speak in accordance with his interests and watched over his ministers. The finances, the army, religion, the executive power, a part of the judicial power, and indirectly nearly all the legislative power were thus at his discretion.

Cæsar had conceived grand projects. He wished to crush the Daci and Getæ, avenge Crassus, penetrate even to the Indus, and, returning through conquered Scythia and Germany, in the Babylon of the West place on his brow the crown of Alexander. Then, master of the world, he would cut the Corinthian isthmus, drain the Pontine marshes, pierce Lake Fucinus and throw across the Apennines a great road from the Adriatic to the Tuscan sea. Then he would extend the rights of citizenship in order to cement the unity of the empire; would collect in one code the laws, the decrees of the senate, the plebiscites and the edicts; and would gather in a public library all the products of human thought.

But for many months a conspiracy had been forming.

Cassius was its head. He carried with him Brutus, nephew and son-in-law of Cato, a man of many virtues, but egotistic and a blind partisan of former institutions. On the ides of March (March 15), 44, the conspirators assassinated Cæsar in the senate house.

VIII

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

Octavius. — With Cæsar dead the conspirators supposed liberty would return unaided; but Antony, then consul, stirred up the people against them at the dictator's funeral and drove them from the city. Cæsar had left no son, only a nephew, Octavius, whom he had adopted. When this young man, eighteen years of age, came to Rome, Antony, expecting to inherit the power of his former chief, disdained the friendless aspirant; but the name of Cæsar rallied round Octavius all the veterans. As he agreed to discharge the legacy bequeathed by Cæsar to the people and the soldiers, he created for himself by that declaration alone a numerous faction. The senate, where Cicero tried once more to rescue liberty from the furious hands which sought to stifle it, needed an army wherewith to oppose Antony. This army Octavius alone could give. Cicero flattered the youth, whom he hoped to lead, and caused some empty honors to be conferred upon him. He was sent with two consuls to the relief of Decimus Brutus, one of Cæsar's murderers, whom Antony was besieging in Modena. The campaign was short and sanguinary (43). Antony was defeated, but the two consuls perished, and Octavius demanded for himself one of the vacant offices. The senate, which thought it needed him no longer, disdainfully rejected his demand. He immediately led eight legions to the very gates of Rome, made his entry amid the plaudits of the people, who declared him consul, had his election ratified, and distributed to his troops at the expense of the public treasury the promised rewards.

Second Triumvirate. Proscription. Battle of Philippi. — He could now treat with Antony without fear of suffering eclipse. He was consul. He had an army. He was master of Rome, and around him all those Cæsarians had rallied whom the violence of his rival had estranged. The negotiations made rapid progress. Antony, Lepidus, the

former general of Cæsar's cavalry, and Octavius met near Bologna on an island of the little river Reno. There they spent three days in forming the plan of the second triumphate. A new magistracy was created under the title of "triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ." Lepidus, Antony and Octavius conferred upon themselves the consular power for five years, with the right to dispose for the same period of all the offices. Their decrees were to have the force of law, and each reserved to himself two provinces on the outskirts of Italy: Lepidus, Narbonensis and Spain; Antony, the two Gauls; Octavius, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia. To make sure of their soldiers, the triumvirs promised them 5000 drachmæ apiece and the lands of eighteen of the finest cities in Italy.

Before returning to Rome they issued an order to put to death seventeen of the most prominent persons of the state. Cicero was among the number. On their arrival they promulgated the following edict: "Let no one conceal any of those whose names are hereinafter given. Whoever shall assist a proscribed person to escape shall himself be proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. In recompense, the freeman shall receive 25,000 drachmæ, the slave 10,000 together with free liberty and citizenship." Then followed a list of 130 names. A second list of 150 appeared almost immediately afterward, soon followed by others. At the head of the first stood the names of a brother of Lepidus, of an uncle of Antony and of a tutor of Octavius. Each leader had given up a kinsman, thus purchasing the privilege of not being hampered in his vengeance. The ill-omened days of Marius and Sulla began anew and again were seen hideous trophies of bleeding heads. One was presented to Antony: "I do not recognize it," said he; "carry it to my wife." In fact it was that of a wealthy private person who had once refused to sell Fulvia one of his villas. Many escaped on the ships of Sextus Pompey, who had just seized Sicily, or made their way to Africa, Syria and Macedon. Cicero, whom Octavius had abandoned to the rancor of his colleague, was less fortunate. He was killed in his villa at Gaeta. His head and hand were cut off and brought to Antony while he was at table. At the spectacle he manifested a ferocious joy. Fulvia, taking in her hands that bleeding head, with a bodkin pierced the tongue which had pursued her with so many

deserved sarcasms. The pitiable remains were then attached to the rostrum.

On leaving Italy Brutus had gone to Athens. The governor of Macedon resigned his command to him. From the Adriatic to Thrace in a few days everything obeyed the republican general. Cassius for his part had seduced the eastern legions.

To raise money, he made the provinces pay in one instalment the taxes of the next ten years. The republican army, loaded down with the plunder of Asia, reëntered Europe and advanced as far as Philippi in Macedon to meet the triumvirs. Antony posted himself opposite Cassius; Octavius opposed Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, but the republicans had a formidable fleet, which cut off communication by sea. Thus Antony, threatened with famine, was anxious for battle, but Cassius for the contrary reason wished to defer it. Brutus, eager to end the civil war, desired action. Octavius, who was ill, had been removed from his camp when Messala, attacking with impetuosity, penetrated his lines. Brutus thought the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony had dispersed his antagonists, and Cassius regarding his party as ruined had committed suicide.

Twenty days after this action, another took place, in which the troops of Brutus were surrounded and put to rout. Their leader, who escaped with difficulty, halted on an eminence to accomplish what he called his deliverance. He threw himself on his sword, exclaiming: "Virtue, thou art only a word!" Antony showed some mildness toward the captives, but Octavius was pitiless. The republican fleet proceeded to join Sextus Pompey (42).

Antony in the East. The Perusian War. Treaty of Misenum (39). — The two conquerors made a new partition of the world between them, regardless of Lepidus, who was supposed to have an understanding with Pompey. The share of the leaders having been arranged, it remained to settle that of the soldiers. Octavius, ill as he was, undertook the apparently difficult task of distributing lands in Italy to the veterans. Antony was to go to Asia and obtain the 200,000 talents required. He traversed Greece and Asia in a continual festival, horribly oppressing the people to provide the means for extravagance. In Asia he demanded the imposts for the next ten years on the spot. For a

savory dish he rewarded his cook with the house of a wealthy citizen of Magnesia. Cleopatra had furnished money and troops to Cassius. Antony demanded an explanation of her conduct. To Tarsus in Cilicia, where he was, she came in person hoping to conquer him as she had conquered Cæsar by her charms.

Antony was an easy prey. When he beheld this elegant and accomplished woman, who spoke six languages, holding her own with him in his orgies, he forgot Rome and Fulvia his wife to follow her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41). While he was wasting precious time in shameful debauchery, Octavius in Italy was attempting the impossible task of satisfactorily dividing the lands. The dispossessed proprietors, who unlike Virgil could not buy back their property with fine verses, hastened to Rome, lamented their misfortunes and excited the people to revolt. The brother of Antony thought this an opportunity to overthrow Octavius and collected seventeen legions, with which he seized Rome, announcing the speedy restoration of the republic. But Agrippa, the best officer of Octavius, drove him from the city and forced him to take refuge in Perusia, where famine compelled his surrender (40). Fulvia fled to Greece with all Antony's friends and Octavius remained sole master of Italy. The news roused the triumvir from his unmanly torpor but his soldiers ordered peace, and the two adversaries made a new partition, which gave Antony the east as far as the Adriatic with the obligation to fight the Parthians, and the west to Octavius with the war against Sextus Pompey. The latter however a few days later signed the treaty of Misenum. He was to retain Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Achæa. Lepidus received Africa (39).

Wise Administration of Octavius. Expedition of Antony against the Parthians. — The peace of Misenum was only a truce. Octavius could not consent to leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions at the mercy of Pompey. The struggle broke out in 38. The victory of Naulochus assured the success of Octavius (36). Sextus, who had taken refuge in Asia, was put to death in Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35). Octavius rid himself at the same time of Lepidus, whom he banished to Circeii where he lived some twenty-three years longer. When Octavius returned to Rome the people, who beheld prosperity suddenly revived,

accompanied him to the Capitol and crowned him with flowers. They wished to lavish honors upon him. Already beginning his rôle of self-abnegation and modesty, he suppressed several taxes, and declared his intention of abdicating as soon as Antony terminated the war against the Parthians. Meanwhile his energetic administration reëstablished order in the peninsula. Bandits were hunted down and fugitive slaves restored to their masters or put to death when not reclaimed. In less than a year security reigned at the capital and in the country. Rome was governed.

In 37 Antony came to Tarentum to renew the triumvirate for five years. Excited by the victories of his lieutenants, he decided to assume in person the command of the Parthian War. Scarcely had he touched Asiatic soil when his passion for Cleopatra revived more madly than ever. He had her come to Laodicea, recognized the children she had borne him, and added to her dominions almost the whole coast from the Nile as far as Mount Taurus. Though those countries were for the most part Roman provinces, the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir had more influence than senate or laws.

At last Antony decided to march against the Parthians with 60,000 men, 10,000 horsemen and 30,000 auxiliaries. He marched through Armenia, whose king Artavasdes was his ally, and penetrated as far as Phraata near the Caspian Sea; but he had not brought his siege machines, and was obliged to retreat. After twenty-seven days' march, during which they fought eighteen battles, the Romans reached the Araxes, the frontier of Armenia. Their road from Phraata was marked by the corpses of 24,000 legionaries. Fortune offered Antony a last opportunity to repair his reverses. A quarrel had arisen between the king of the Parthians and the king of the Medes as to division of the spoils. The angry Mede intimated that he was ready to join the Romans. Cleopatra prevented Antony from replying to this appeal, and carried him off in her train to Alexandria.

While Antony was disgracing himself in the East, Octavius was giving to Italy that repose for which she hungered. He conquered the pirates of the Adriatic and the turbulent tribes, the Liburni and Dalmati, at the north. At the siege of Metulum, he himself mounted to the assault

and received three wounds. He penetrated as far as the Sava, and subdued a part of Pannonia. Thus, of the two triumvirs, the one was bestowing Roman countries upon a barbarous queen, and the other was increasing the territory of the empire. However Antony complained and demanded a share in the spoils of Sextus and Lepidus. Octavius replied with bitter criticisms of his conduct in the East, and read to the senate the will of Antony, which bequeathed to Cleopatra and her children the greater part of the provinces which he had in his power. Octavius wished by this means to strengthen the rumor that Antony, should he become the master, would make a gift to Cleopatra of Rome itself. A decree of the senate declared war against the queen of Egypt.

Actium. Death of Antony and Reduction of Egypt to a Province. — Antony had collected 100,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 500 great ships of war. Octavius had only 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 250 vessels of inferior size. His galleys however were lighter and swifter and were manned by the veteran sailors and soldiers who had defeated Sextus Pompey. The battle was fought off Actium on the coast of Acarnania (31). Cleopatra took to flight in the middle of the action with sixty Egyptian ships, and Antony cowardly followed her. The abandoned fleet surrendered. The army for seven days resisted all solicitation. This time Octavius did not stain his victory by acts of revenge. No suppliant for life was refused. The victor, recalled to Italy to quiet troubles there, could not pursue his rival until the following year. Antony tried to defend Alexandria but was betrayed by Cleopatra and committed suicide. The queen herself, having vainly sought to move the conqueror, had herself stung by an asp. Octavius reduced Egypt to a Roman province (30).

Rome belonged to a master. Two centuries of war, pillage and conquests had destroyed equality in the city of Fabricius, had taught insolence to the nobles, servility to men of low degree, and replaced the citizen army by a mercenary rabble, who cared nothing for the state, its laws or liberty, and recognized only the leader whose hand offered them booty and gold. The establishment of the empire was certainly a military revolution. But, since Rome had not been able to halt at the popular reforms of the Gracchi or the aristocratic reform of Sulla, this revolution had be-

come inevitable. It was impossible that the institutions, adequate for a city of a few thousand inhabitants, should be adequate for a society of 80,000,000 souls; that the city, now become the capital of the world, should continue to be disturbed by sterile and bloody rivalries; that the kings, the allied nations and the provinces should remain the prey of the 200 families which composed the Roman aristocracy.

But in place of the citizens who were despoiled and who merited their fate, could men be formed, capable by their voluntary discipline and political intelligence of winning new rights, higher perhaps than those which they had lost?

If liberty was destined not to return, could any one understand how to organize those multitudes, ignorant henceforth of any will save that of the prince, into a vigorous body capable of a long existence? Since there is to be an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation take the place of the oligarchy which had just been overthrown, and of the populace which regarded the victory of Cæsar and of Octavius as its triumph? The history of Augustus and of his successors will be the answer.

IX

AUGUSTUS AND THE JULIAN EMPERORS

(B.C. 31-A.D. 68)

Constitution of the Imperial Power (30-12). — Antony was dead and Egypt attached to the imperial domain. Octavius returned to Asia Minor. There he spent the winter in regulating the affairs of the East, while Mæcenas and Agrippa kept watch for him in Rome. Their task was easy, for the only sounds were the adulatory decrees of the senate. When at last he returned to his capital after his triumph, he distributed to the soldiers 1000 sesterces apiece, to the citizens four hundred, and shut the temple of Janus to announce the new era of peace and order that had begun.

As consul he was legally to retain for six years almost the entire executive power. Yet above all he had need of the army. In order to remain at its head he caused the senate to bestow upon him the title of imperator with the supreme command of all the military forces. The generals were henceforth only his lieutenants, and the soldiers took the oath of loyalty to him.

He preserved the senate and resolved to make of it the pivot of his government. First however with Agrippa as his colleague he was proclaimed censor; this enabled him to expel from the senatorial body unworthy members or opponents of the new order. When the former censors completed the census, the man whose name they had placed at the head of the list, generally one of themselves, was called chief of the senate. This purely honorary post Octavius retained during the remainder of his life. Agrippa had given his colleague this republican title, and thus placed the deliberations of the senate under his direction; for, in accordance with ancient usage, the chief always expressed his opinion first and this first opinion exercised an influence now destined to be decisive.

The senators had placed nearly all the provinces under

his authority by investing him with the proconsulship. Octavius wished that they should at least share this office with him. He left them the tranquil and prosperous regions of the interior, and took for himself those still in turmoil or threatened by the barbarians, and where in consequence the troops were stationed. In the fervor of its gratitude, the senate called him Augustus, a title which had been applied only to the gods. It is by this title he is commonly known. Three years later it bestowed upon him the tribuneship for life or inviolability in office. In the year 19 he was decreed consul for life. He had formerly accepted the command of the provinces and the armies for ten years only. In the year 18 he caused his powers to be renewed, each time protesting against the violence done his preferences in the name of the public interest. Finally he caused himself to be named sovereign pontiff. There was nothing else left worth the taking (12). Thus centring in himself every high office, conferred in accordance with all the forms of law, he was absolute master of Rome and the empire. His reign of forty-four years was employed in tranquil organization of the monarchy. The emasculated senate still existed as the council of state. He even increased its attributes by intrusting to it the decision in all political cases and important suits. The people also retained the form of their assemblies, but the public elections were merely to confirm the choice made by the prince.

Military and Financial Organization. — As the real power rested upon the soldiers, he made the army a permanent organization, and stationed it along the frontiers in intrenched camps ready to resist the barbarians. Regulations determined the duration of service, the treatment of veterans and the pay of the three or four hundred thousand men. Fleets at Frejus, Misenum and Ravenna acted as the police of the Mediterranean. Flotillas were stationed on the Danube and Euxine. As he was chief of all the legions and as the generals were only his lieutenants fighting under the auspices of the imperator, none of them, according to Roman ideas, could enjoy a triumph.

The civil was patterned after the military administration. Annually the senate continued to send proconsuls to the interior provinces which the emperor left it. The frontier provinces were governed by imperial legates who retained office as long as the sovereign saw fit. This was a salutary

innovation, because now the officers remained long at their posts, and hence became acquainted with the needs of those under their administration.

As there were apparently two kinds of provinces, there were two financial administrations, the public treasury or *ærarium*, and the treasury of the prince or the *fiscus*. The *ærarium*, which received the tributes of the senatorial provinces, was moreover put by the senate at the sovereign's disposition, so he disposed of all the financial resources of the empire just as he disposed of all its military forces. These resources were insufficient to defray the new expenses. It became necessary to reëstablish customs duties and create new taxes, such as a twentieth on inheritances, a hundredth on commodities and fines for celibacy. All these revenues, joined to the tributes of the provinces, yielded perhaps eighty or a hundred million dollars.

Administration of Augustus in the Provinces and at Rome.

—If everything belonged to Augustus, his time, his services, and even his fortune belonged to all. During his long journeys through the provinces, he relieved cities in debt and rebuilt those which some calamity had destroyed. Tralles, Laodicea, Paphos, overthrown by earthquake, arose from their ruins more beautiful than before. One year he even defrayed from his own revenues all the taxes of the province of Asia. The measures of the imperial administration in general accorded with the conduct of the prince, who was an example and a lesson to his officers. In religious matters no violence was allowed save in Gaul, where druidism with its human sacrifices was vigorously assailed. That the taxes might be justly apportioned a general register of valuation was needed. Augustus had this drawn up.

Three geometers travelled throughout the empire and measured distances. This work served also another end. The empire once surveyed and measured, it was easy to make roads. Augustus repaired those of Italy, constructed those of Cisalpine Gaul and covered all Gaul and the Iberian peninsula with highways. Then upon these roads a regular service of posts was organized. The messengers of the prince and the armies could be rapidly transported from one province to another. Commerce and civilization gained thereby. New life circulated in this empire, so admirably planted all around the Mediterranean Sea.

Augustus devoted particular attention to contenting the people of Rome with games and distribution of corn. He adorned the city with numerous monuments, appointed a prefect and city cohorts to preserve public tranquillity, and night watches to prevent or extinguish fires. He could boast of leaving a city of marble where he had found one of brick. In the still barbarous Western provinces, by making new territorial divisions, he effaced their former independent habits, and founded numerous colonies to multiply the Roman element in the midst of these populations.

During the triumvirate Octavius had often exhibited cruelty, but Augustus almost always pardoned. He lived less like a prince than like a plain private person, simply and with dignity with his friends, Mæcenas, Horace, Virgil, Agrippa, who were not always courtiers.

Foreign Policy. Defeat of Varus (9 A.D.). — After Actium he thought the wars were finished, and by closing the doors of the temple of Janus he had declared that the new monarchy renounced the spirit of conquest which had animated the republic. In fact, there were no serious wars in the East, where the mere threat of an expedition decided the Parthians to restore the flags of Crassus. But in Europe the empire had not yet found its natural limits. In order to place Italy, Greece and Macedon beyond the danger of invasion, it was necessary to control the course of the Danube. To avoid apprehension on the left bank of the Rhine the German tribes must be expelled from the right bank. This was the object of a series of expeditions, all of which succeeded with one exception. In the year 16, Drusus and Tiberius subdued the tribes in Rhætia, Vindelicia and Noricum on the northern slope of the Alps, thereby extending the Roman frontier to the upper Danube. Seven years later Drusus crossed the lower Rhine and penetrated to the banks of the Elbe. After his death his brother Tiberius took up his winter quarters in the very heart of Germany, and the Roman influence spread by degrees from his camp. Meanwhile the Marcoman Marbod was founding in Bohemia a kingdom defended by 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, all disciplined in the Roman manner. Augustus became alarmed at these neighbors, and was preparing a formidable army to destroy this rising state beyond the Danube, when the Pannonii and Dalmatae rebelled in its rear. Tiberius induced Marbod to treat, and thus was able

to fall upon the rebels with fifteen legions. However three campaigns were necessary to overcome their desperate resistance.

Only five days after the definite submission of the Pannoni and Dalmati, Rome learned with consternation that three legions had been drawn into an ambush by Hermann, a young chieftain of the Cherusci, and had been utterly destroyed together with their general Varus. Northern Germany was rising in revolt, and was pushing the Roman domination back upon the Rhine. "Varus, Varus! Give me back my legions," Augustus cried in sorrow. Marbod, jealous of Hermann, made no movement, and Augustus, reassured on the score of the Danube, was able to send Tiberius into Gaul. He fortified the strongholds along the Rhine, reëstablished discipline and for the sake of restoring a little confidence even risked the eagles on the other side of the river. Germanicus took his place in command of the eight legions which garrisoned the left bank of the Rhine. The enemy content with their victory were not yet desirous to attack. The empire was saved, but the glory of a long and pacific reign was tarnished by this disaster. Augustus died five years afterwards (14 A.D.).

Augustus gave his name to a great literary epoch. Posterity pictures him surrounded by Titus Livius, Horace and Virgil, whom the other illustrious writers, Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, Sallust and Cæsar, had preceded by a few years. We possess nothing of Varius, a tragic poet much lauded at the time, but many elegies are left us of Tibullus, Gallus and Propertius, and almost all the works of Ovid. Trogus Pompeius compiled a universal history which unhappily is lost; Celsus, a sort of encyclopædia, of which only the books relating to medicine remain; and the Greek Strabo composed his geography.

Tiberius (14-37).—Augustus had adopted Tiberius, a son of his wife Livia by a former husband. He succeeded without difficulty. To occupy the turbulent legions on the frontier, Tiberius ordered Germanicus, who was both his nephew and his adopted son, to lead the army beyond the Rhine. They marched as far as the forest of Teutoberg, where the three legions of Varus had perished. At first the Germans nowhere made a stand. Growing bolder in the following campaign they ventured to meet the Roman army, and were defeated in the great battle of Idistavisus.

A second battle was a second massacre, and Varus was avenged. Germanicus then returned to Gaul, where he found letters from Tiberius recalling him to Rome to receive the consulship, and to undertake an important mission in Asia.

In Rome Tiberius governed mildly, refusing the honors and temples offered to him. He disdained the base flattery of the senate as one who knew its value. To the provinces he sent able governors, did not increase taxation, and relieved the frequent distress. Twelve Asiatic cities, ruined by an earthquake, were exempted for five years from all dues. Tiberius practised his maxim, "A good shepherd shears his sheep, but does not flay them."

In the East, Germanicus without drawing his sword humbled the Parthians, who allowed him to give the Armenian crown to a faithful vassal of the empire, and to reduce Cappadocia and the Comagene to provinces. On returning from a journey to Egypt he had violent disputes with Piso, governor of Syria. His death, which occurred some time afterward, was attributed to poison, and Piso's indecent joy seemed to designate him as the criminal. Piso to regain the government, which he had resigned rather than obey Germanicus, did not shrink from civil war. Defeated, he committed suicide. Tacitus intimates, without direct assertion, that Tiberius poisoned Germanicus and then caused Piso to disappear.

The first nine years of Tiberius' reign were prosperous. After the death of his son Drusus, everything changed. He had a favorite, Sejanus, who had once saved his life when a vault fell in upon him, and whom he made prefect of the prætorian guard. Dazzled by success, Sejanus wished to mount higher still. He believed that he might reach the supreme power by overthrowing the sovereign and his children. His first victim was the emperor's own son, Drusus, whom he secretly poisoned. This death was a mortal blow to Tiberius. He felt himself alone and friendless. Naturally suspicious, he now everywhere beheld plots and intrigues. To foil real or imaginary conspirators he employed his power mercilessly. About this time, Tiberius, then sixty-nine years of age, quitted Rome never to return and withdrew to the delicious island of Capreæ, at the entrance of the Gulf of Naples (26). Sejanus had become the intermediary between him and the

empire. Inflaming the suspicions of the old man, he persuaded him to become the executioner of all his relatives whom he represented as impatient heirs coveting their inheritance. Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, was shut up in the island of Pandataria, where four years later she died of starvation. Of her three sons, Nero was put to death or killed himself; Drusus was thrown into prison, where he perished of hunger; the youth of Caius protected him against the fears of Tiberius.

The whole family of Germanicus being practically destroyed, Sejanus, drawing more closely to his goal, dared solicit the hand of Drusus' widow. This was almost equivalent to asking to be made the emperor's heir. His suit was refused. Hence he resolved to strike at the emperor himself and gained accomplices even in the palace. But Tiberius understood him. Craftily depriving him of his guard, he had him suddenly arrested in the open senate. The people tore his body to pieces, and numerous executions followed his death.

"The cruelty of Tiberius," says Suetonius, "knew no bounds when he learned that his son Drusus had died of poison. The place of execution is still shown at Capreae. It is a rock, whence the condemned at a given signal were hurled into the sea." Close beside it rose the palaces, scenes of infamous orgies, as Tacitus asserts. Tiberius maintained peace along the frontiers, which were seldom disturbed. He died at the age of seventy-eight.

Caligula (37-41). — With acclamations Rome hailed the accession of Caligula, son of Germanicus, and the new emperor at first justified all her hopes. Soon however, in consequence of an illness which seemed to have unsettled his reason, he entered upon a war against the gods, whom he blasphemed; against nature, whose laws he wished to violate, as in spanning the sea between Baiae and Puteoli by a bridge; against the nobility of Rome, whom he decimated; and against the provinces, which he drained by his exactions. In less than two years he had squandered in mad extravagance sixty million dollars, the savings of Tiberius. To replenish his treasury he appropriated the lives and fortunes of the rich. One day in Gaul he lost while playing at dice. He ordered the registers of the province to be brought, and marked for death those citizens who paid the heaviest taxes. "You play for a few miser-

able drachmas," he said afterward to his courtiers, "but I have just won millions at a throw!" For four years the world endured this raving madman, who wished the Roman people had but one head that he might strike it off at a blow. At last he was killed by Chærea, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts.

Claudius (41-54). — Chærea was a republican. The occasion seemed favorable for the senate to again grasp the power. It made the attempt, and for three days one could imagine that he was in a republic. This did not suit the soldiers. In a recess of the palace they found Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and carried him to their camp. He was then fifty years of age, a man of learning who wrote the history of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, but sickly and timid. His lack of resolution had the most deplorable results. The real masters of the empire were his wife, Messalina, and his freedmen, Polybius, Narcissus and Pallas. Nevertheless they effected some wise reforms, made a seaport at Ostia, and drained Lake Fucinus. Claudius persecuted the Druids, whose worship he sought to abolish.

Abroad, Mauritania and half of Britain were conquered, the Germans repressed, the Bosphorus held to its allegiance, Thrace, Lydia, and Judæa reduced to provinces, and the divisions among the Parthians encouraged. But nine or ten plots formed against the life of Claudius brought on terrible vengeance. Thirty-five senators and three hundred knights perished. Many were the victims of the hatred of Messalina, who in defiance of the emperor, the laws and public decency contracted a second marriage before death or divorce had dissolved the first, and with the usual ceremonies espoused the senator Silius. The freedmen, alarmed for their own safety, wrested from Claudius an order of death, and replaced Messalina by Agrippina, a niece of the emperor, who acquired for herself hardly less notoriety. The new empress, desirous to secure for her son Nero, then eleven years of age, the heritage which rightfully belonged to the young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, surrounded the emperor with her creatures, appointed Burrus prefect of the prætorian guard, and Seneca tutor to Nero. Then by way of finishing the affair she poisoned Claudius.

Nero (54-68). — At his accession Claudius to assure the fidelity of the soldiers had given a donative of nearly eight

hundred dollars to each prætorian and a proportionate sum to each legionary. This unfortunate innovation the army established as a law, and eventually it put the empire at auction to the highest bidder. Thus revolutions became more frequent. It was the interest of the soldiers to have the throne often vacant that they might receive the donative the oftener.

Nero began well. The first five years of his reign deserved praise. "How I wish that I did not know how to write!" he said one day, when a death sentence was presented for his signature. Seneca and Burrus worked in concert to restrain the fiery passions of their pupil, but Agrippina's ambition brought about the explosion. In league with the freedman Pallas, she intended that nothing should be done in the palace without her. Seneca and Burrus, in order to remove a domination which had debased Claudius, had the freedman disgraced. On Agrippina's threat to lead Britannicus to the prætorian camp, Nero poisoned his adopted brother (55). A little later he robbed Otho of his wife Poppæa, and, irritated by the reproaches of his mother, caused a vessel upon which she had embarked to sink on the open sea. As she saved herself by swimming, he sent soldiers to kill her. His wife Octavia and perhaps Burrus also suffered the same fate. The Romans beheld their emperor, the heir of Cæsar, drive chariots in the arena and on the stage recite verses to the accompaniment of the lyre! The burning of Rome in the year 64 cannot be imputed to him. But he made use of it as a pretext to persecute the Christians. Some of them, enveloped in the skins of beasts, were torn by dogs; others, smeared with pitch, were set on fire alive, and like torches lit up the gardens of Nero during a festival which he gave the populace. To pay for his extravagance he dealt exile and confiscation. At last a conspiracy of senators and knights was found out. Seneca, his nephew, the poet Lucan and the virtuous Thræsea were forced to open their own veins. This raving madman had the sickly vanity of inferior artists. To find more worthy appreciation of his talents he made a journey to Greece, where he took part in all the games and collected many crowns, even at Olympia, although he fell in the middle of the stadium; but he paid for these plaudits by proclaiming the liberty of Greece (66).

Nevertheless the empire began to weary of obeying a bad

singer, as he was called by Vindex, proprætor of Gaul, who offered the empire to Galba. Despite the death of Vindex the rebellion was successful and extended to Rome, whence Nero abandoned by all was forced to flee. He took refuge at the farm of one of his freedmen. When he saw himself about to be captured, he thrust a dagger into his throat, exclaiming, "What an artist the world is about to lose!" With him the race of the Cæsars became extinct. Since the time of the great Julius, however, it had been continued only through adoption.

Under Nero, Queen Boadicea in Britain rose against the Romans. Corbulo won victories over the Germans and Parthians. The reward of the skilful general was an order to commit suicide.

X

THE FLAVIANS

(69-96)

Galba, Otho and Vitellius (68-69).—The prætorians demanded the rich donative which had been promised them in the name of Galba. "I choose my soldiers," he replied, "but I do not buy them." This haughty speech was not borne out by vigorous acts. Otho, a former friend of Nero, an ambitious man overwhelmed with debts, had no difficulty in stirring up the prætorians to massacre Galba.

But already the legions of the Rhine had at Cologne proclaimed their commander, Vitellius, emperor. They marched upon Italy, and near Cremona won a great battle in consequence of which Otho killed himself.

Vitellius was famous above all for his voracity. He permitted the soldiers to do everything and troubled himself about nothing except his pleasures, never dreaming that the Eastern legions might feel tempted to imitate what the Gallic legions had done for Galba, the prætorians for Otho, and the legions of the Rhine for himself. The profits of a revolution were now so certain that each army desired to secure them. Vespasian was then at the head of powerful forces, charged with subduing the rebellious Jews. His troops proclaimed him emperor. Leaving to his son Titus the task of besieging Jerusalem, he marched to take possession of Egypt and despatched Mucianus to Italy. The latter was forestalled by Antonius Primus, who defeated the troops of Vitellius near Cremona and a few days later captured Rome. Vitellius, after suffering many outrages, was put to death.

Vespasian (69-79).—Flavius Vespasianus, the son of a tax collector, was of plain manners and had made his way by merit. He learned in Egypt of the successes of his generals and the death of his rival. But two wars were still going on. Titus conducted that against the Jews which though fierce was not dangerous to the empire. The other, of far more serious nature, sprang from the rebellion of the

Batavian Civilis. This man, a member of the Batavian royal family, had resolved to free his nation. He summoned the Gauls to independence and the Germans to the pillage of the provinces. The Gauls could not agree among themselves. Cerealis, one of Vespasian's generals, vanquished Civilis, who retired to his island, organized there a vigorous resistance and finally obtained an honorable peace for the Batavi. They remained, not the tributaries but the allies of Rome, on condition of furnishing soldiers. While these events were taking place, Titus was repressing the revolt of the Jews. Roused to sedition by the extortions of their last governors, they had heroically recommenced the struggle of the Maccabees against foreign domination. They believed that the time was come for that Messiah whom their sacred books foretold. Refusing to recognize him in the holy victim of Golgotha, they thought that he was about to manifest himself, glorious and mighty, amid the crash of arms. The insurrection had invaded Galilee, where the historian Josephus organized the rebellion. Vespasian and Titus confined it in the capital of Judæa. After a memorable siege Jerusalem fell. The Temple was burned, the ploughshare passed over its ruins and the dispersion of the Hebrew people began (70). Eleven hundred thousand Jews fell in this war.

While Vespasian's generals were rendering his arms triumphant, he himself at Rome was degrading unworthy senators and knights, improving the finances that Nero had left in a wretched state, restoring the Capitol which had been destroyed in a conflagration, constructing the immense Coliseum and the temple of peace, founding a library, and appointing teachers of rhetoric whom the state paid. Nevertheless Vespasian felt obliged to expel from Rome the Stoics, who ostentatiously displayed republican sentiments. Because of his too great freedom of speech the most respected of the senators, Helvidius Priscus, was exiled and afterward put to death, though contrary to the intention of Vespasian. Of serious mind, a man of business and method, Vespasian laughed at flatteries as at apotheosis. "I feel myself becoming a god," he said when he beheld his last hour approaching. But he tried to rise, saying, "An emperor should die on his feet."

Titus (79-81).—He was succeeded by Titus, who had distinguished himself in the German and British wars and

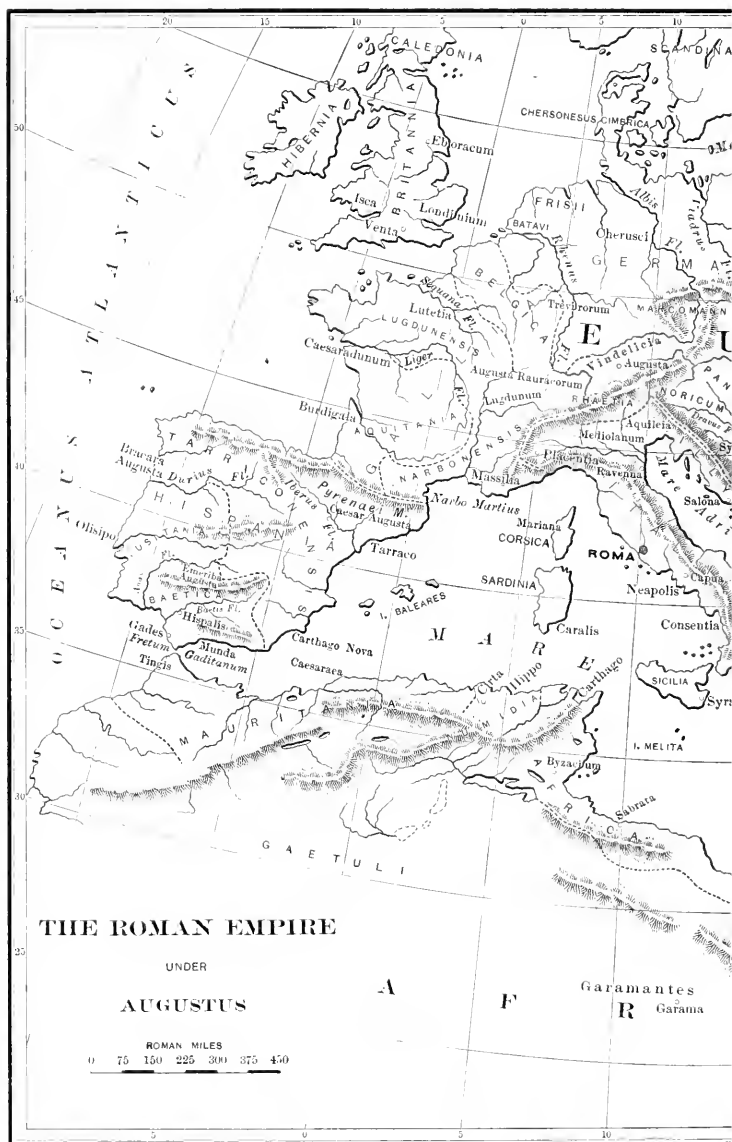
especially in Judæa. Though his dissoluteness and violence had been feared, he surprised all by his self-control, and his gentle and affable manners won for him the surname of "Delight of the human race." He considered a day lost in which he had done no good action.

Frightful calamities attended his brief reign. A conflagration lasting three days devastated a part of Rome. Pestilence ravaged Italy. On November 1, 79, Vesuvius suddenly vomited forth masses of ashes and lava which buried Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae. Pliny the naturalist, then commanding the fleet of Misenum, wished to behold this terrible phenomenon close by, and was either stifled by the ashes or crushed by the stones shot forth from the volcano. Titus reigned only seventeen months.

Domitian (81-96). — Domitian, his brother, was immediately proclaimed. In his first acts he showed firmness and justice, repressed all the abuses of which he could obtain information, and by his active watchfulness assured to the provinces an almost paternal government. The frontiers were well guarded and the barbarians held in check, including the Dacians who were becoming formidable. But as his thirst for money grew with his fears, he soon became grasping and cruel. Informers multiplied and were followed by executions. His cousin Sabinus was put to death, because the crier who was to name him consul by mistake had called him emperor. Many rich persons on account of their wealth were accused of high treason.

A revolt of the governor of upper Germany increased his tyranny, because Domitian believed himself to be surrounded even in Rome by the accomplices of the rebel. Many senators perished. Some were accused of the new crime of judaizing. Under this pretext his cousin Flavius Clemens and his own niece Domitilla were condemned. At last a plot was formed among the people of the palace, by whom he was murdered.

It was Domitian however who completed the conquest of the greater part of Britain. Vespasian had sent thither Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, who pacified the island without however subduing the mountaineers of Caledonia. Only the south of Scotland was united to the province. To protect it against incursions from the north, Agricola raised a line of fortified posts between the firths of the Clyde and the Forth, and Roman civilization aided by numerous colonists speedily took possession of Britain.



XI

THE ANTONINES

(96-192)

Nerva (96-98). — The Flavian family was extinct. The senate made haste to proclaim Nerva, a former consul. With this prince began a period of eighty years which has been called the golden age of humanity. It is the epoch of the Antonines. Though Nerva displayed good intentions, he had neither the strength nor the time to realize them. He adopted the Spanish Trajan, the best general of the empire.

Trajan (98-117). — When Nerva died, Trajan was at Cologne. Recognized as emperor by the senate, the people and the armies, he remained one year more on the banks of the Rhine to pacify the frontiers and restore discipline. He wished to enter Rome on foot. The Empress Plotina followed his example. As she ascended the palace steps, she turned toward the crowd to say, "What I am on entering, I wish to be on departing." Trajan banished informers, diminished the taxes and sold the numerous palaces which his predecessors had acquired by confiscations. In order to encourage the free population, he distributed among the cities of Italy revenues intended for the support of poor children. The senate could almost believe itself transported to the days of its ancient power, for it deliberated on serious affairs and really assigned the offices. Trajan even restored the elections to the comitia. At least the candidates presented themselves to solicit as in former days the votes of the people. He himself in Campus Martius canvassed in the midst of the crowd. The monuments which he raised had as their object public utility or the adornment of Rome, like the Trajan column which still recounts his exploits. Among his works the most important were the completion of a highway which traversed the whole Roman empire from the Pontus Euxinus to Gaul, and the restora-

tion of the road thrown across the Pontine marshes. He caused the seaports of Ancona and Civita-Vecchia to be excavated at his expense, established colonies in different places, either as military or commercial stations, and founded the Ulpian library, which became the richest in Rome. Only two reproaches can be brought against him; he had not the sobriety of Cato and he persecuted the Christians. He forbade their being hunted, but ordered that such as made themselves prominent should be beaten. He himself condemned Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, to be cast to the lions.

His reign was the most warlike which the empire had beheld. He directed in person an expedition against the Dacians (101), crossed the Danube at the head of 60,000 men, vanquished the barbarians in three battles, captured their capital, Sarmizegethusa, and forced them to sue for peace (103). The following year they rebelled again. Trajan threw over the river a stone bridge, the remains of which are still to be seen, several times entered Dacia, vanquished Decebalus, who killed himself, and reduced the country to a province. Numerous colonists were sent thither and flourishing cities rose. In consequence the Roumanian nation still speaks on the banks of the Danube a dialect which is almost the language of the contemporaries of Trajan.

In the East he reduced Armenia to a province. The kings of Colchis and Iberia promised entire obedience, and the Albanians of the Caspian accepted the ruler whom he gave them. One of his lieutenants, Cornelius Palma, had already subjugated some of the Arabs. Trajan penetrated into Mesopotamia, captured Ctesiphon, Seleucia and Susa, and descended as far as the Persian Gulf. "If I were younger," said he, "I would go and subdue the Indies." Such rapid conquests could not be durable. The vanquished rose as soon as the emperor departed and the Jews again revolted everywhere. Blood flowed in streams. Trajan had not even the consolation of seeing the end of this formidable insurrection. He died at Selinus in Cilicia.

Hadrian (117-138). — Hadrian abandoned the useless conquests of his predecessors in the East. To prevent the inroads of the Caledonian mountaineers into Britain, he constructed from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth the wall of the Picts, numerous remains of which

are still to be seen. His only war was a fierce one against the Jews. He changed the name of the city of David to *Ælia Capitolina*, erected there altars to all the gods and forbade the Jews to observe the bloody rite of circumcision. Thus they were now threatened with the loss of their religious, as they had lost already their political, existence. At the call of the doctor Akiba they once more appealed to the verdict of arms under the leadership of Barkochba, the Son of the Star, who claimed to be the long-expected Messiah. Nearly 600,000 Jews perished and the survivors were sold.

Hadrian's internal administration was sagacious. He relieved the provinces from those arrears of debt which had accumulated during sixteen years, and did away with the republican forms which since the time of Augustus had perpetuated the false image of Roman liberty. He divided the offices into those of the state, palace and army, the civil magistracies holding the highest rank and the military the lowest. For the transaction of business he established four chanceries, and invested the prætorian prefects with both civil and military authority. So they formed a sort of upper ministry. And lastly Salvius Julianus by command of the emperor formed a sort of code from existing edicts which, under the name of perpetual edict, acquired the force of law (131).

The army, like the palace and the higher administration of the government, was subjected to a severe reform. Hadrian made many regulations which have survived him, touching discipline, drill and the age at which a man became eligible to the different grades. He visited all the provinces one after the other, most of the time on foot, accompanied only by a few lawyers and artists. A number of cities were enriched by him with splendid monuments, as Nîmes, where he probably erected the amphitheatre in honor of Plotina; Athens, where he passed two winters; Alexandria; and Rome, which owes to him the castle of San Angelo (*Moles Hadriani*) and the bridge which connects the two banks. He encouraged commerce and industry, and rendered the slaves amenable to the courts alone, and not to the caprice of their masters.

The good deeds of this prince make us forget his shameful morals, which however were those of his age, the influence exercised over him by Antinous, of whom he eventually made a god, and certain acts of excessive severity. In

the early days of his reign, the senate executed four men of consular rank accused of conspiracy without even awaiting his orders. Toward the end of his life, after his successive adoption of Verus and Antoninus, plots real or imaginary began again and many senators were sacrificed. He died at Baïæ.

Antoninus (138-161). — Antoninus, a native of Nîmes, had been adopted by Hadrian on condition that he in turn would adopt Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. He reigned twenty-three years in profound peace, and received from his grateful contemporaries the surname of "Father of the human race." A wise economy in the administration of the finances enabled him to found useful institutions and to assist cities afflicted with some calamity, like Rome, Antioch, Narbonne and Rhodes, which had been ruined by fire and earthquake. "The wealth of a prince," he said, "is public happiness." Two conspiracies against him were discovered. Only their chiefs perished. A defence of Christianity composed by the philosopher Justinus obtained for the Christians, who were already numerous in Rome and in the provinces, toleration from the emperor and the magistrates. Antoninus carried on no important war, nothing more than petty expeditions for the maintenance of order on the frontiers.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180). — Marcus Aurelius, surnamed the Philosopher, undertook to continue the administration of his three predecessors. He had shared the title of Augustus with Verus, his son-in-law and adopted brother. He sent him to the East during a crisis, but Verus concerned himself at Antioch only with his debauches, and left the skilful Avidius Cassius to capture Ctesiphon and Seleucia. A terrible pestilence raged at Rome; earthquakes devastated the empire; the German tribes on the Danube rose in revolt. The Stoic philosopher who occupied the throne did not allow himself to be alarmed, and amid the perils of the war against the Marcomanni wrote the admirable maxims of Stoic wisdom contained in the twelve books of his work entitled *Meditations*.

Almost all the barbarian world was in commotion. The Sarmatian Roxolani, the Vandals and other tribes of whom we know only the names, crossed the Danube and penetrated even to the neighborhood of Aquileia. The two emperors marched against them, and the barbarians retreated without giving battle so as to secure their booty. A certain number

even accepted the lands which Marcus Aurelius gave them, or enrolled among the auxiliaries of the legions. Verus died on his return from this expedition. The as yet unconquered Germans appeared once more under the walls of Aquileia. In order to obtain the money required for this war, Marcus Aurelius sold the treasures and jewels of the imperial palace. He was obliged to arm the slaves and gladiators and enroll the barbarians (172). The enemy retreated. The emperor pursued the Quadi even to their own country, where on the banks of the Gran he incurred a serious danger. A storm accompanied by thunder and lightning saved him, and gave rise to the tradition of the Christian legion that hurled thunderbolts. A treaty of peace with many nations apparently gave a glorious termination to this war. From the banks of the Danube, Marcus Aurelius hurried to Syria to suppress the revolt of Cassius, who was killed by his soldiers. Almost immediately the Marcomanni, the Bastarnæ and the Goths resumed their incursions. The unhappy emperor, whom fate condemned to pass his life in the camp, hastened to march against them with his son Commodus. He died without having finished the war at Vindobona, now Vienna.

Commodus (180-192). — Commodus, aged nineteen years, concluded a hasty peace with the Marcomanni and the Quadi, took 20,000 of those barbarians into the service of the empire, and returned to Rome to contend more than 700 times in the arena, to drive chariots and play the part of Hercules. Perennis, the prefect of the guards on whom at first devolved the cares of government, was massacred in 186. He was replaced, both as prætorian prefect and imperial favorite, by the freedman Cleander, a Phrygian, who made money out of the life and honor of the citizens. Three years later the cruel and avaricious favorite was killed in a popular sedition which plague and famine had excited. Then Commodus launched sentences of death against the most virtuous citizens, against his relatives, against the senate, even against the great jurisconsult Salvius Julianus and allowed the prætorians the utmost license. As those nearest to him were the most endangered, it was their hand which smote him. His concubine Marcia, the chamberlain Electus, and the prefect of the guards Lætus, whom he intended to put to death, had him strangled by an athlete.

XII

MILITARY ANARCHY

(192-285)

Pertinax and Didius Julianus (192-193). — Pertinax, prefect of the city, proclaimed emperor by the murderers of Commodus, was recognized by the senate and the prætorians, but, when he tried to restore order in the state and the finances, he displeased the soldiers, who murdered him in his palace. Then began scenes without a name, and happily without example. The soldiers literally put the empire up at auction. Two purchasers presented themselves, who rivalled each other in promises. The monarchy of Augustus was adjudged to the aged ex-consul, Didius Julianus, at 6250 drachmas for each soldier. The sale finished, the prætorians in battle array conducted Didius to the palace, and the senators accepted the man whom the soldiers had elected. He had promised more than he could perform. The creditors, implacable toward their imprudent debtor, would no doubt have overthrown him themselves, had they not been forestalled by the legions of the frontiers, who also wished to bestow the empire. The British legions proclaimed their chief Albinus; the Syrians, Pescennius Niger; the Albanians, the African Septimius Severus. The latter being the nearest to Rome immediately set out for the capital. The senate, encouraged by his approach, declared Didius a public enemy, had him slain, punished the murderers of Pertinax and recognized Severus as emperor.

Septimius Severus (193-211). — He broke the power of the prætorians; but, instead of abolishing that turbulent guard, he contented himself with certain changes and even rendered it more numerous. In Asia Minor he defeated Niger, who was killed while about to flee to the Parthians (194). Near Lyons he overthrew Albinus (197), whose head he sent to the senate with a threatening letter. On his return to Rome, he multiplied the executions. Forty-one

senatorial families became extinct under the headsman's axe.

To extenuate his cruelties by a little glory, he endeavored to seize Seleucia and Ctesiphon from the Parthians, who had made an alliance with Niger. On his return he ordered a persecution against the Christians, in spite of the eloquent apologies of Tertullian and Minutius Felix. Severus administered the finances with economy. After his death corn sufficient for seven years was found in the granaries at Rome. "Keep the soldiers contented," he said to his children, "and do not trouble yourselves about the rest. With them you can repulse the barbarians and repress the people." Military discipline was strictly maintained, but at the same time the soldiers obtained privileges and increase of pay. After a few quiet years Severus was called to Britain by a revolt which he had no difficulty in quelling. He penetrated a great distance into the Caledonian mountains, but incessantly harassed and worn out by continual attacks which cost him as many as 50,000 men, he returned to the policy of Antoninus, and constructed a wall from one shore to the other along the line traced by Agricola.

During this expedition he had been constantly ill. Nevertheless his son Bassianus, called Caracalla from the name of a Gallic garment which he was fond of wearing, could not wait for his approaching end, and tried to assassinate him. From that time the emperor's malady increased. He expired with the words: "I have been everything, and everything is nothing." His last countersign had been "laboremus." He left two sons, Caracalla and Geta.

Caracalla (211-217). — The two princes had already disturbed the palace by their quarrels. On his return to Rome Caracalla stabbed his brother in the arms of their mother. Papinianus, refusing to make a public defence of the fratricide, was put to death and with him perished 20,000 partisans of Geta. Caracalla made his cruelty felt in all the provinces, particularly at Alexandria, where in order to avenge himself for some epigrams he ordered a massacre of the unarmed people. A centurion, who had an injury to revenge, killed him.

Macrinus (217). — The army elected the prefect of the guards Macrinus, who, after a sanguinary battle with the Parthians in Mesopotamia, purchased peace at the price of 50,000,000 denarii; but the severe measures which he took

for the restoration of discipline destroyed his popularity. The soldiers mutinied in their camp, proclaimed Bassianus, the young and handsome high priest of Emesa, and massacred Macrinus.

Heliogabalus (218-222). — Bassianus, better known as Heliogabalus from the Syrian god whose priest he was, brought to Rome the most shameful passions of the East. His luxury and depravity would have made Nero blush. He formed for himself a senate of women and, like the great king, wished to be adored. His palace was strewn with gold and silver dust, and his fish ponds filled with rose water in which to bathe. The soldiers were soon horrified at this unnatural emperor, who attired himself in women's clothes. They killed him, together with his mother Sœmis, and saluted as emperor his cousin Alexander, aged fourteen, who remained under the guidance of his grandmother Mæsa and his mother Mamæa.

Alexander Severus (222-235). — The two empresses devoted themselves to developing the natural virtues of the young prince. They gave him as ministers the lawyers Paulus and Ulpianus and formed for him a council of twelve senators. The empire passed many peaceful years under his reign. On the front of his palace these words, the foundation of all social morality, were carved: "Do unto others as thou wouldest have them do unto thee." Nevertheless, his hand was not firm enough to maintain discipline among the soldiers. One day they slew their prefect Ulpianus under his very eyes.

The ruin of the Parthian kingdom and the foundation of a second Persian empire by the Sassanide Artaxerxes in 226 occasioned a war on the Euphrates. The new monarch, who restored to the Persian mountaineers the domination which the Parthians had wrested from them, declared himself of the ancient royal race, and claimed all the provinces which Darius had formerly possessed. Alexander replied by attacking the Persians. The expedition was fully successful. The news that the Germans had invaded Gaul and Illyricum hastened his return. He hurried to the Rhine and was there killed in a sedition.

Six Emperors in Nine Years (235-244). — The soldiers proclaimed Maximinus, a Thracian Goth, who in his youth had been a shepherd. He was a giant, eight feet tall. He is said to have eaten daily thirty pounds of meat and to

have drunk an amphora of wine. This barbarian, who did not dare even once to come to Rome, treated the empire like a conquered country, pillaging cities and temples alike. Mankind soon tired of him. Despite their entreaties, the proconsul of Africa, Gordianus I, and his son, Gordianus II, who boasted their descent from the Gracchi and Trajan, were proclaimed emperors. Recognized by the senate but overthrown, the senate afterwards itself proclaimed Pupienus and Balbinus. The people demanded that a son of the younger Gordianus should be declared emperor. As for Maximinus, he and his son were assassinated before Aquileia which he was besieging, and a little later the senate's two emperors were massacred in their palaces. Then the prætorians proclaimed Gordianus III. He was only thirteen years of age. Misitheus, his tutor and father-in-law, governed wisely in his name, but the death of the clever counsellor enabled the Arab Philip to become prefect of the prætorian guard. He slew the emperor and took his place.

During the reign of Gordianus the Franks are mentioned for the first time. They were a confederation of Germanic tribes on the lower Rhine, like that of the Alemanni on the upper Rhine. The latter constantly threatened Rætia and even Gaul itself, whose northern provinces the former invaded. At the other extremity of Germany, the Goths had gradually descended from Scandinavia upon the lower Danube and the Black Sea. They were for the time being the empire's most dangerous neighbors.

Philip (244-249). Decius (249-251). The Thirty Tyrants (251-268). — At the end of five years the soldiers decided that Philip had reigned long enough and revolts broke out everywhere. Meanwhile the Goths crossed the Danube, and the senator Decius, whom he sent against them, was proclaimed by the troops. A battle was fought near Verona and Philip was killed. The quiet enjoyed by the Church during Philip's reign has led to the erroneous belief that he was a Christian. Decius on the contrary persecuted it cruelly. However he reigned only two years and perished in a great battle with the Goths in Mœsia (251).

The army acknowledged Galbus, one of its generals, who promised the barbarians an annual tribute. This had the effect of inducing them to return. Æmilianus, who routed them, assumed the purple. Both were killed by their soldiers (253). Valerian, saluted as emperor, named his son

Gallienus as Cæsar and endeavored to arrest the imminent dissolution of the empire. In 258 he recaptured from the Parthians the great city of Antioch and penetrated into Mesopotamia; but near Edessa he was vanquished and made prisoner by King Sapor (260), who retained him in captivity exposed to insults until he died. Sapor had re-entered Syria. He was forced back across the Euphrates by the prætorian prefect Balista and the Arab chief Odenath. The latter grew powerful enough to secure recognition as Augustus by Gallienus (264). Palmyra his capital, situated in an oasis at three days' distance from the Euphrates, had become rich and powerful through its immense commerce. Imposing ruins still testify to its past greatness.

After the captivity of his father Gallienus ruled alone for eight years. His reign was one ceaseless struggle against the usurpers, barbarians and calamities of all sorts that descended upon the empire. This period is called that of the Thirty Tyrants. There were in reality only nineteen or twenty, all of whom died violent deaths like Saturnus, who said to his soldiers, "Comrades, you are losing a good general and making a wretched emperor," and who was slain because of his severity. Odenath, a valiant prince, delivered the East from the Persians and the Goths, who had disembarked in Asia Minor, but was himself assassinated in 267 by his nephew. Zenobia, his wife, slew the murderer and succeeded to her husband's power. Gaul was independent for fourteen years under five Gallic emperors. To internal disorder had been added barbarian invasions. The Goths and the Heruli had ravaged Greece and Asia Minor. One Goth wished to burn the library at Athens, but another prevented him. "Leave to our enemies," said he, "these books which deprive them of the love of arms." The Athenians however, led by the historian Dexippus, had the honor of defeating these brigands.

Claudius (268). **Aurelian** (270). **Tacitus** (275). **Probus** (275). **Carus** (282).—Gallienus, who alone appeared legitimate among all these usurpers, was mortally wounded by traitors while besieging one of his competitors in Milan. As he expired, he chose for his successor a Dalmatian, Claudius, who was then the most renowned general of the empire. Claudius had only the time for a hurried march to Macedon, where he defeated 300,000 Goths near Naissus, and there died of the pest. Aurelian took his place (270). He had

first to check an invasion of the Alemanni, who penetrated through Rætia as far as Placentia where they destroyed a Roman army and thence as far as the shores of the Adriatic. Rome was terror-stricken. The senate consulted the Sibylline books and in obedience to their responses sacrificed human victims. A victory gained on the banks of Metaurus delivered Italy; but the danger which Rome had incurred determined the emperor to surround it with a strong wall. He was less fortunate against the Goths. A treaty abandoned to them Dacia, whose inhabitants he transported into Mœsia. The Danube again became the boundary of the empire.

Tranquillity reëstablished on that frontier, he marched to the East (273) to encounter Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. This princess, celebrated for her courage and her rare intelligence, dreamed of forming a vast Oriental empire. He wrested from her Syria, Egypt and a part of Asia Minor, defeated her near Antioch and Emesa and besieged her in Palmyra, her capital, where she had taken refuge. When the resources of the city were exhausted, Zenobia fled on a dromedary toward the Euphrates but was captured and taken to Aurelian. Her principal minister, the sophist Longinus, whose treatise on the *Sublime* we still possess, was suspected of being the author of an offensive letter sent by Zenobia to Aurelian and was put to death. The emperor reserved the queen to adorn his triumph and afterward assigned her a splendid villa at Tibur. In the West, Tetricus, who had usurped Gaul, Spain and Britain, himself betrayed his army and passed over to the side of Aurelian, who appointed him governor of Lucania.

Delivered from foreign troubles Aurelian tried to restore order in the administration and discipline in the army. Desirous of occupying the restless minds of the legions he was preparing an expedition against the Persians, when his secretary, accused of extortion and afraid of punishment, had him assassinated (275). The soldiers, ashamed of having permitted the murder of their glorious chieftain, forced the senate to choose an emperor. It appointed the aged Tacitus, who died after six months.

The soldiers then proclaimed Probus, who immediately hastened to Gaul, which had been invaded by the Alemanni. He recaptured sixty towns, followed the enemy across the Rhine and pursued them beyond the Neckar. The Germans

delivered to him 16,000 of their young warriors, whom he enrolled, though dispersing them among his troops. In Illyricum he routed the Sarmatæ; in Thrace the Getæ; in Asia Minor the brigands of Isauria and Pamphylia; in Egypt the Blemyes, who had seized Coptos. Narses, king of Persia, alarmed by these successes, sued for peace. On his return through Thrace Probus established on the lands of the empire 100,000 Bastarnæ, just as he had already established Germans in Britain and Franks on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus. He was preparing to march against the Persians when the hard labor which he imposed upon his soldiers, compelling them to plant vineyards and drain marshes, caused a revolt in which he perished (282). The next day the soldiers mourned him. They chose the prefect of the guards, Carus, who bestowed the title of Cæsar on his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus. The elder received the government of the West. The younger after a victory over the Goths and Sarmatæ followed his father to the East. Carus captured Seleucia and Ctesiphon but died suddenly, and Numerianus hastened to treat with the Persians. As he was leading the legions back to the Bosphorus, he was killed by his father-in-law Arrius Aper (284). Five days later under the walls of Chalcedon the soldiers proclaimed the Dalmatian Diocletian, who slew Aper with his own hand before the eyes of the whole army. Carinus endeavored to overthrow the new emperor, but he was slain in battle near Margus in Mœsia (285).



XIII

DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE. CHRISTIANITY

(285-337)

Diocletian (285-305). The Tetrarchy. — Forty-five emperors had already worn the purple. Of this number twenty-nine, not to mention the thirty tyrants, had been assassinated. Four or five others had perished by violence. Only eleven or twelve had met natural deaths. Such was the organization of supreme power in the Roman Empire!

Diocletian imposed upon himself the double task of reëstablishing order at home and security on the frontiers. While the tyranny of the governors of Gaul drove the peasants of that province to revolt, the Alemanni crossed the Danube and ravaged Rætia; the Saxons pillaged the coasts of Britain and Gaul; the Franks went as far as Sicily to plunder Syracuse, and Carausius, on being ordered to arrest those pirates, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain (287). Alarmed at this critical situation Diocletian took as colleague Maximianus, one of his former comrades in arms (285), who assumed the surname of Hercules as Diocletian had assumed that of Jovius. Disorder and invasion threatening everywhere, the two Augusti associated with themselves two inferior rulers, the Cæsars Galerius and Constantius Chlorus (293).

In the partition of the empire Diocletian kept the East and Thrace; Galerius had the Danubian provinces; Maximianus Italy, Africa and Spain, with Mauritania; Constantius Gaul and Britain. The ordinances issued by each prince were valid in the provinces of his colleagues. Diocletian remained the supreme head of the state and by his skill and conciliatory spirit maintained harmony among princes who were already rivals. He was the first Roman emperor to surround the throne with all the pomp of an Asiatic court. He adopted a diadem, clothed himself in silk and gold, and compelled all, who obtained permission to

approach, to adore on their knees the imperial divinity and majesty. He began to establish that regulated hierarchy so necessary in a monarchical administration to protect the prince from military revolutions, and also that despotism of the court, that seraglio government, which slays public spirit and makes service rendered to the person of the prince more esteemed than service rendered to the state. But successful wars justified the measures of Diocletian.

In the East, the Persians had driven a partisan of the Romans from the Armenian throne and were threatening Syria. Galerius marched against them. A defeat which he suffered was gloriously redeemed, and Narses ceded Mesopotamia, five provinces beyond the Tigris and the suzerainty of Armenia and Iberia at the foot of the Caucasus (297). This was the most glorious treaty which the empire had yet signed. Diocletian erected numerous fortifications there to preserve the conquest. At the other extremity of the Roman world, Constantius, after having expelled the Franks from Gaul and Batavia, made a descent on Britain and vanquished the usurper Alectus (296) who had succeeded Carausius.

Tranquillity having been everywhere restored, Diocletian sowed discord among the barbarians. He armed Goths and Vandals, Gepidæ and Burgundiones, against each other. Then he repaired all the fortifications on the frontiers and constructed new posts. In these few years the empire regained a formidable footing. These successes were celebrated by a splendid triumph, the last which Rome beheld (303).

Unfortunately Diocletian was persuaded by Galerius to order a cruel persecution of the church. A conflagration, which burst out in the imperial palace and with which the Christians were charged, increased his wrath. Throughout the empire, except in the provinces where Constantius Chlorus reigned, the victims were hunted down and tortured.

Shortly afterward Diocletian grew weary of power and abdicated at Nicomedia. Maximianus unwillingly followed his example and laid down the diadem the same day at Milan. The former chief of the Roman world retired to a magnificent villa, which he had built near Salona on the Dalmatian coast, and passed his old age in peaceful pursuits. One day when Maximianus was urging him to reascend the throne, he replied: "If you could only see the splendid

vegetables which I raise myself, you would not talk to me of such worries." He died there in 313. The ruins of his palace are still to be seen.

New Emperors and New Civil Wars (303-323). — Galerius and Constantius assumed the title of Augustus and chose two new Cæsars. These were Maximinus, who received the government of Syria and Egypt, and Severus, who had Italy and Africa and who became Augustus after the death of Constantius. Constantine, the son of this last prince, whom a brilliant destiny awaited, succeeded his father with the title of Cæsar.

The scheme of Diocletian, apparently so cleverly contrived to prevent usurpation by sharing the power in advance with a few ambitious men and rendering the supreme authority almost everywhere present, was in reality impracticable. This empire, so vast and now so menaced, could be held together for a moment by a firm and experienced hand like that of Constantine or Diocletian, but ultimate dismemberment was sure. Rome herself gave the signal for new wars. Incensed at the desertion in which the new emperors left her, she bestowed the title of Augustus upon Maxentius, son of Maximianus (306), who took his father as his colleague. Thus the empire had six masters at once: the two Augusti, Galerius and Severus; the two Cæsars, Constantine and Maximinus; and the two usurpers, Maxentius and Maximianus. Severus was the first to fall, vanquished and slain by Maximianus. The latter was the next to disappear, banished by his son and put to death by his son-in-law Constantine, whom he was attempting to overthrow (310). In the following year Galerius died in consequence of his debauches. Maxentius succumbed in turn to the blows of his brother-in-law, Constantine, near the Milvian Bridge which spans the Tiber. For this expedition Constantine had gained the support of Christianity by placing the cross upon his standards (312).

Licinius, the successor of Galerius, had at the same time vanquished Maximinus who took poison (313). Thus the empire had now only two masters, Licinius in the East and Constantine in the West. This was one too many for these ambitious and perfidious princes, who sought each other's destruction. Licinius fomented a conspiracy against his rival. The latter in reply declared war, defeated his enemy and imposed upon him an onerous peace.

This peace lasted nine years, during which Constantine introduced order into the administration and gained glory and power by a victory over the Goths, 40,000 of whom entered his service under the name of *Fœderati*. Under pretext of protecting the Christians, Constantine attacked his colleague and took him prisoner after two victories. He stripped him of the purple promising that he would respect his life, but some time afterward put him to death (323).

Christianity. — Pagan morality had risen to a great height with Seneca, Lucan, Persius, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. The activity of the philosophers had some effect upon the intellect. But the brilliancy with which certain intellects still shine in our eyes prevents our seeing the state of spiritual infancy in which the greater part of the human race then lay. For it the fairest doctrines wrought by human reason remained without effect, because they were not sustained by creeds born of faith alone. The philosophers talked grandly of their scorn for fortune, pain and death; but they knew little concerning the life to come or the pains and rewards in store. Their haughty virtue suited hopeless wise men, like some of those Roman nobles who, having lost the dignity of the citizen, had taken refuge in the dignity of the man. For the masses such marvels were required as impress the imagination and impose certainty without being understood.

Credo quia absurdum, Tertullian says. Religion alone can provide those beliefs with which reason has nothing to do. Placed between Egypt and Persia, that is to say, between the two countries which have professed the most ardent faith in a life to come, Judæa had finally added to the grand Semitic idea of divine unity the idea of the resurrection and of the judgment of the dead. The simple purity of the parables of Jesus, his invincible faith in God and in his justice, his teaching, which devoted itself to ardent charity for all the suffering and wretched, went to the heart of the lower classes. Meanwhile the Fathers and the Doctors, constructing with Platonic ideas the most rational and hence the most philosophical system of metaphysics which the world had ever known, won gifted minds to the cause of the new Gospel.

Jesus was born five years before our era in the town of Bethlehem in the midst of Jews who, overwhelmed with misery, awaited the advent of the Messiah promised by their

prophets. In the fifteenth year of Tiberius he began to journey throughout Judæa, teaching love of God and man, purity and justice, the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad. The Pharisees, the strict sectaries of the Mosaic law, caused the holy victim of humanity to be condemned and nailed to the cross. After the Passion the apostles dispersed among the provinces where many Jewish colonies had been established. The Church welcomed a multitude of pagans who were disgusted with their marble gods and many slaves and miserable people, who at last heard a human voice whisper in their ears words of consolation and hope. In the time of Nero there were already enough Christians in Rome to excite persecution. Some suffered under Domitian. A larger number were condemned under Trajan. That emperor forbade search being made after them but, applying the ancient decrees of the senate, he punished whoever were convicted of holding secret meetings or of showing contempt for imperial authority by refusing to sacrifice to the gods, the worship of whom the emperor as pontifex maximus was bound to protect.

Nevertheless as the Church grew her doctrines became better known. The pagans set up in opposition the pretended miracles of Vespasian and of Apollonius of Tyana, philosopher and wonder-worker. They also tried to purify paganism, thereby rendering it less unworthy of contending with the religion of Christ. They introduced into their worship mysterious forms, such as initiations and expiations, calculated to impress the popular imagination. These innovations did not succeed in preventing men from embracing a doctrine which was both more simple and mild. Christianity encountered another danger. Like philosophy it had its different schools or heresies. The four Gospels, the Epistles, the Apostles' Creed, maintained union, and Aristides and Justin presented to Hadrian and Antoninus two Apologies, which gained for the believers a little repose. But the sophists induced Marcus Aurelius to decree fresh persecutions in which Justin, Polycarp and many others were martyred. The Christians were generally tranquil until Severus, a rude disciplinarian, took alarm at their secret assemblies and ordered a persecution (199-204) to which the sympathetic tolerance of Alexander Severus put a stop. Under Decius the calamities of the empire were attributed to the wrath of the gods on account of Christian-

ity, and the last persecution, that of Diocletian or rather of Galerius, deserved to be called the era of martyrdom (303-312). It was all the more severe because the Christians were then very numerous in the empire. Constantine determined to make himself the head of this increasing party, and to this resolution owed his victory.

In his expedition against Maxentius (312) he declared himself the protector of the new faith. The following year he published at Milan an edict of toleration. As long as Licinius lived Constantine used discretion with the pagans. Beginning with the year 321 he granted the Church the right to receive donations and legacies. He repaid the assistance which it had afforded him against his last rival by lavishing upon it at the expense of the state property which he guaranteed to it in perpetual possession. He transferred to the Christian priests all the privileges which the pontiffs of paganism enjoyed, that is to say, the right of asylum for their temples, and for themselves exemption from public service, statute labor and imposts. Even the humblest ecclesiastic could not be put to torture, and rest on Sunday was prescribed, a great boon to the slaves.

To multiply conversions he made it plain in what quarter imperial favors were to be found, bestowing offices on Christians and privileges on the cities which overturned the pagan altars. On the other hand he tried to destroy paganism by frequent exhortations to his peoples, and afterward when triumphant Christianity no longer feared dangerous tumults, by severe ordinances which in many places closed the temples and overthrew the idols, without however shedding the blood of those who remained attached to the ancient worship. The Council of Nicæa, convoked by Constantine in 323, finally drew up the creed of Christianity. When it had dispersed, the emperor wrote to all the churches "that they were to conform to the will of God as expressed by the Council."

Reorganization of the Imperial Administration. — The revolution had been accomplished in the religious order. He completed it in the political order. Diocletian had only outlined the organization which was destined to put an end to military revolutions. Constantine resumed this enterprise. The first thing he did was to abandon Rome, still filled with her gods with whom he wished nothing to do, and to found another capital on the banks of the Bos-

phorus between Europe and Asia. Constantinople rose upon the site of Byzantium, far enough from the eastern frontiers to have small fear of hostile attack, while sufficiently near them to assure their being better watched and defended. The site was so well chosen that for ten centuries every invasion passed her by. In 330 Constantine inaugurated the new city as capital of the empire. He established a senate, tribes and curiæ. He erected a Capitol, consecrated not to the Olympian gods, now dethroned and dead, but to learning. He built palaces, aqueducts, baths, porticoes and eleven churches. It was like Rome a seven-hilled city and divided into fourteen regions. Gratuitous distributions of corn were made. Egypt sent thither her grain and the provinces their statues and finest monuments. Rome abandoned by her emperor and by her wealthiest families, who went away to establish themselves near the court, "gradually became isolated in the centre of the empire; and, while fighting went on around her, sat in the shadow of her name awaiting her ruin."

The empire was divided into four prefectures and these again into thirteen dioceses. The enormous size of the provinces had often inspired their governors with the idea of mounting higher, even to the imperial power. So the twenty provinces of Augustus were cut up into the 116 provinces of Constantine. A numerous body of administrators, graded in a lengthy hierarchy, was interposed between the people and the emperor, whose will, transmitted by the ministers to the prætorian prefects, passed from the latter to the presidents of the dioceses and descended through the provincial governors to the cities. At the head of this hierarchy seven great officers formed the imperial ministry: the Count of the Sacred Chamber or Grand Chamberlain; the Master of Offices or Minister of State, who directed the household of the emperor and the police of the empire; the Quæstor of the Palace, a sort of Chancellor; the Count of the Sacred Largesses or Minister of Finance; the Count of the Private Domain; the Count of the Domestic Cavalry; and the Count of the Domestic Infantry. The two latter were chiefs of the emperor's guards. Add to these officials the throng of inferior agents who encumbered the palace and were more numerous, says Libanius, than the swarming flies in summer.

The four prætorian prefects of the East, Illyricum, Italy

and Gaul had no longer any military command, but they published the emperor's decrees, made assessments, superintended the collection of taxes and sat as appellate judges over the chiefs of the diocese. Their rich appointments and their numerous staff made them resemble four kings of secondary rank commanding the governors of the dioceses and of the provinces.

The Masters of Cavalry and Infantry had under their orders the Military Counts of the provinces.

Diocletian had already surrounded himself with the splendor of the Asiatic courts in order to exalt the majesty of the prince. Constantine imitated his example. The posts of the imperial court conferred upon those invested with them titles of personal but not transmissible nobility. The consuls, the prefects and the seven ministers were called the illustres; the proconsuls, the vicars, the counts and the dukes were spectabiles; the former consuls and the presidents were clarissimi. There were also perfectissimi and egregii. The princes of the imperial house bore the title of nobilissimi.

This divine hierarchy, as in official language the army of functionaries surrounding and concealing the sacred person of the emperor was called, added to the brilliancy of the court without increasing the strength of the government. Salaries were required for this immense staff, who took much greater pains to please the prince than to labor for the public good. The expenses of administration increased and taxes increased with them while poverty was already draining the richest provinces. Then between the treasury and the taxpayer began a war of ruse and violence, which fretted the people and extinguished the last remnants of patriotism.

The free institutions of former days still lived in the municipal system of government. Each city had its own senate or curia, composed of curiales or proprietors of at least fifteen acres of land, who deliberated on municipal matters and from their own number elected magistrates to administer affairs. It had also its duumvirs who presided over the curia, watched over the interests of the city and judged law cases of minor importance; an ædile; a curator or steward; a tax collector; irenarchs or police commissioners; scribes and notaries. Beginning with the Emperor Valentinian I each had a defensor, or sort of tribune,

elected by the city to defend its interests with the governor or prince.

But the *curiales*, charged with collecting the tax, guaranteed its payment with their own property. Thus their condition became more and more wretched. They sought escape by taking refuge in the privileged bodies of the clergy or army, but were thrust back by force into the *curia*, where at their death their sons were to take their place. Their exemption from torture and from certain ignominious penalties was only slight compensation. Thus the number of the *curiales* was already diminishing in the cities.

The imposts for which they were responsible were very heavy. In the first place there was the *indiction* or land-tax, which was assessed according to the fortune of each person as indicated in the register drawn up every fifteen years or cycle of *indictions*; then the twentieth of inheritances; the hundredth of the proceeds of auction sales; the poll-tax, paid by non-landholders and for slaves; the customs dues; and lastly the *chrysargyron*, levied every four years on petty commerce and petty industry. The *aurum coronarium*, formerly voluntary when the cities sent crowns of gold to consuls or emperors, had become an obligatory tax.

These charges pressed all the heavier on small or moderate fortunes since they fell upon the rich lightly or not at all. The *nobilissimi*, the *patricii*, the *illustres*, the *spectabiles*, the *clarissimi*, the *egregii*, all the staff of the palace, all the courtiers and the clergy, were exempt from the heaviest of the imposts, which fell wholly upon the *curiales*. The third class, that of simple freemen comprising those who owned less than fifteen acres, the merchants and artisans, were no less unfortunate. The corporations which the artisans of the cities had formed had, especially since the time of Alexander Severus, become prisons from which exit was prohibited. While destroying industry, the government supposed it could in this way force men to labor. In the rural districts the petty proprietors, despoiled by the violence and craft of the great or by the invasions of the barbarians, were reduced to becoming the dependents of the rich. Thus attached to the soil, they were deprived of the greater part of the rights though not of the name of freemen. The slaves alone gained in the midst of all these miseries. Stoic philosophy and afterwards Christianity had

somewhat humanized ideas and laws concerning them. At last they were regarded as men. They were authorized to dispose more freely of their savings, and it was forbidden to kill or torture them or to separate families when they were sold. As freemen were abased and slaves exalted, a new condition began to take form in serfdom of the soil. This was preferable to slavery, but the discouraged freeman ceased to work. Population diminished, and it became necessary to repopulate with barbarians the abandoned provinces.

The real army whose duty it was to repel invasion was now composed only of barbarians, mainly Germans, to whom the guardianship of the frontiers was imprudently confided. The legions, reduced from 6000 to 1500 men each so that their commanders might be less ambitious, garrisoned the cities of the interior. The palatines, who formed the emperor's private guard, were the best paid and most honored. Otherwise there was the same system in the army as in civil life, of servitude and privilege, which repelled every man of value from the profession of arms. The recruits were obtained from the dregs of society or among the vagabonds of those barbarian nations who were soon to dictate the law. Sense of military honor did not exist. The soldiers were branded like galley slaves. Thus in spite of its 133 legions, its arsenals, its magazines, its magnificent belt of fortifications along the Rhine, the Main, the Danube, the Euphrates and the desert of Arabia, the empire was about to be assailed by despised enemies.

If then the new state of things elevated the classes formerly humble as the slave, the woman, the child, it on the other hand degraded whatever had been strong and proud as the freeman or citizen. As soldiers were wanting, so were writers and artists. Nothing great could issue from the schools, which Valentinian was to reorganize. They had only sophists and rhetoricians like Libanius, or scribblers of light verses and of epithalamia like Claudian. Literature and art, still closely linked with paganism, fell with the creed whose followers were soon to be found only in rural districts.

Faith and life, withdrawing from the old worship and the old society, passed to those that were new. Christianity had developed and received form in the fires of persecution. It had ascended the throne with Constantine, who

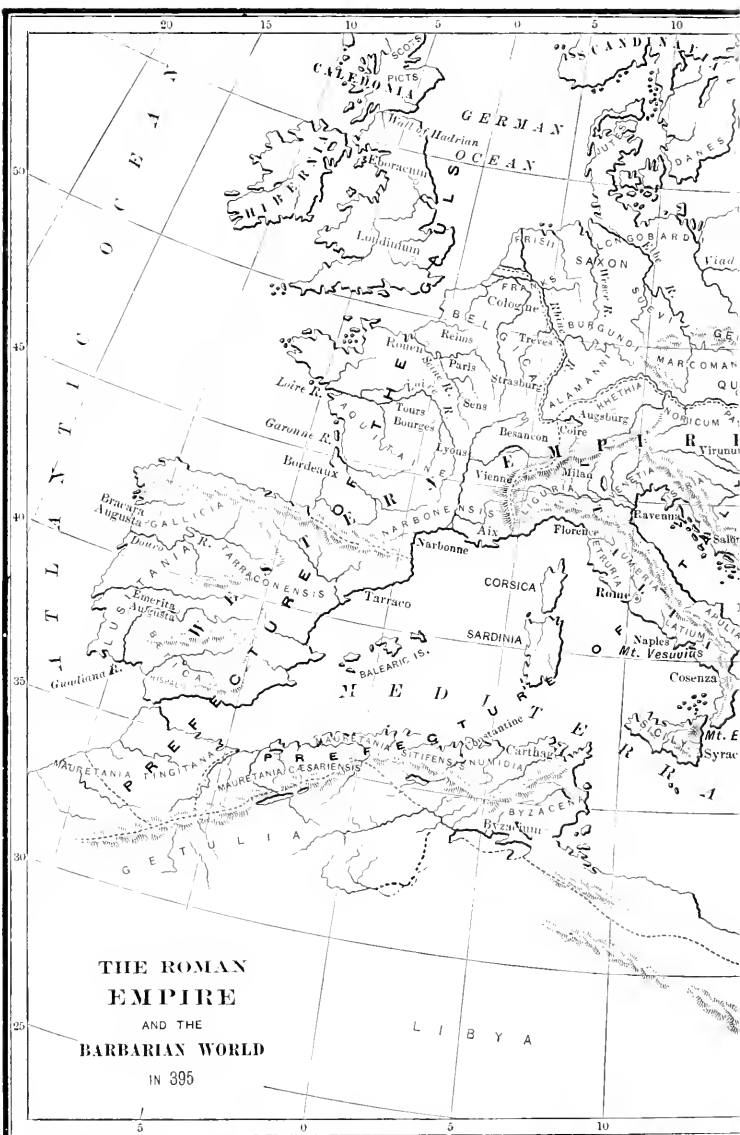
heaped privileges, immunities and wealth upon the Church. Thus an influence was added to that which it already possessed through its young and ardent faith, its proselyting spirit and the genius of its leaders. Even heresy had served to strengthen it. From its bosom sprang forth a lofty, passionate, active literature, represented by Tertullian, Saint Athanasius, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory of Nazianzen, Lactantius, Salvian and many more. Fifteen great councils held in the fourth century bore witness to its activity, and were already regulating its doctrine, its discipline and its ecclesiastical hierarchy. Though empire and ancient social order crumble away, the Church will survive. It will welcome the barbarians to its embrace, sending to the Dacian Goths an Arian bishop Ulphilas, to translate the Bible into their dialect, and other missionaries to convert the Burgundians.

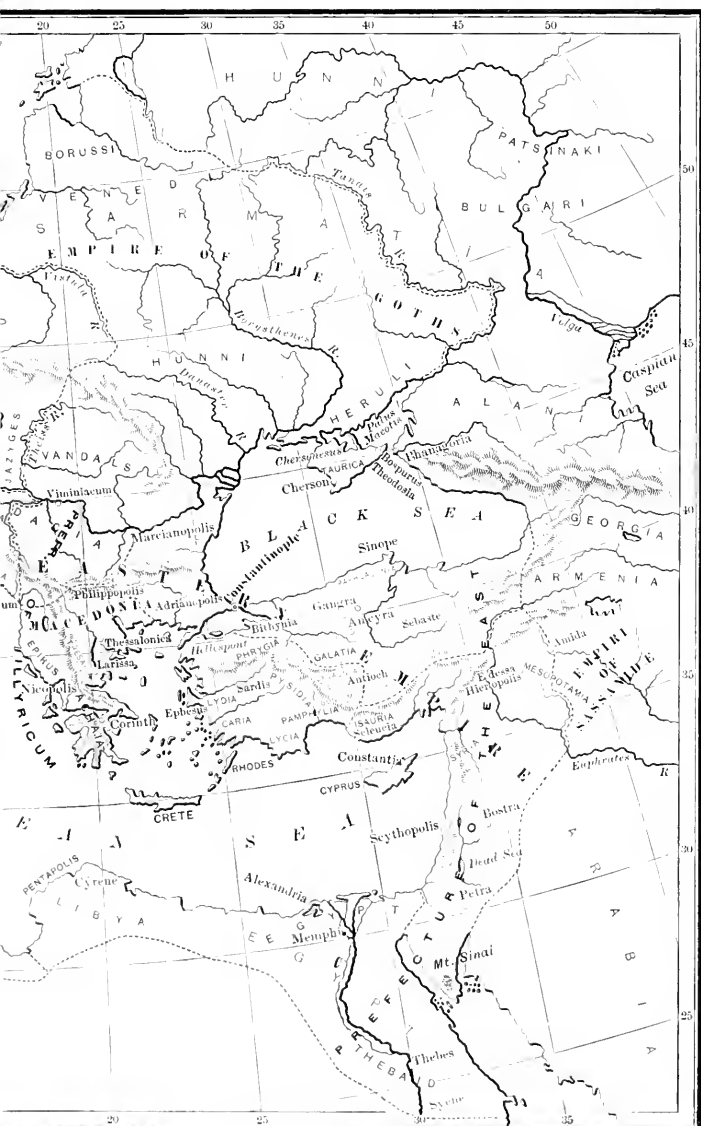
Last Years of Constantine (323-337). — These three mighty facts — the establishment of Christianity as the dominant religion of the empire, the foundation of Constantinople and the administrative reorganization — fill the reign of Constantine. From his defeat of Licinius in 323 to his death in 337, we find nothing in his personal history except the bloody tragedies of the imperial palace, in which by his orders his son Crispus, his empress Fausta and the son of Licinius, a child of twelve, were put to death. Embassies of Blemmyes, Ethiopians and Indians, a treaty with Sapor II, who promised to ameliorate the condition of the Christians in Persia, and two successful expeditions against the Goths and the Sarmatæ (332), caused all these domestic misfortunes to be forgotten. A few days before expiring Constantine was baptized.

XIV

CONSTANTIUS. JULIAN. THEODOSIUS

Constantius (337).—Constantine committed the mistake of dividing the empire between his three sons and several of his nephews, without deciding upon a definitive dismemberment. This procedure caused fresh wars and fresh crimes. First of all the soldiers massacred his nephews with the exception of Gallus and Julian. The eldest of his sons, Constantine II, perished in battle against one of his brothers (340) who himself was killed (350) by the Frank Magnentius. Constantius, who had to check the Persians in the East and to combat a usurper in the West, appointed his cousin Gallus as Cæsar and intrusted to him the war against Sapor. Magnentius killed himself on being defeated in Pannonia (351), whereupon Gaul, Spain and Britain submitted. Thus all the provinces were once more united under one master, but they were no better governed. The palace was distracted by the intrigues of women, eunuchs and courtiers, and the empire by the quarrels of Arianism and by the continued inroads of barbarians. From false reports Constantius believed that Gallus, the Cæsar of the East, was preparing to revolt. The young prince, recalled from Asia by flattering promises, was taken to Pola in Istria and beheaded. His brother Julian was spared. Exiled to Athens, he was able to fully gratify his taste for study and to become initiated into the Platonic doctrines. But imperial authority must be present on all the menaced frontiers. So after fourteen months it became necessary to recall Julian and intrust to him, as Cæsar, the defence of Gaul, now invaded by the Franks and the Alemanni. He vanquished the barbarians in the battle of Strasburg (357), expelled them from all the country comprised between Basle and Cologne, crossed the Rhine and brought back a great number of captive Gauls and legions as prisoners. His skilful administration rendered him as popular with the citizens as his victories had done with the soldiers. Constantius grew uneasy and wished to take







away his troops, but they mutinied and proclaimed him Augustus. This was a declaration of war. A bold and rapid march had already brought Julian to the heart of Illyricum, when Constantius died (361).

Julian (361).—Julian, a conqueror without a combat, abjured Christianity and received the surname of the Apostate. He publicly professed the ancient faith and reopened the temples. He strangely misunderstood the society which he was called to rule by attempting to restore life to the dead. Had he lived longer, he would doubtless have cruelly expiated this unintelligent return to the past. Nevertheless he did not summon the aid of violence to effect the triumph of reaction. He promulgated an edict of toleration, which permitted the sacrifices forbidden by Constantius, and recalled the exiled members of all religious parties; but he must be reproached for one astute order which forbade Christians to teach belles-lettres. The reign of Constantius had been incessantly troubled by the contentions of the Arians and the Orthodox. Alexandria and Constantinople were the principal theatres of this struggle. These quarrels assisted Julian in his attempted restoration of paganism. Also the sect of the Donatists was devastating Africa at the same time. The Circumcelliones, separating from the Donatists, wished to establish social equality. They liberated debtors, broke the chains of the slaves and divided the property of the masters. Hence arose a savage war.

Austere himself, he lay claim to the simplicity of a rigid stoic. He was sometimes harsh toward others. Thus to judge faithless officers, after his accession he established a tribunal which was charged with revising unjust decisions. Once when severity would have been justified he displayed a patience which does him honor. Anxious to avenge upon the Persians the long injuries of the empire, he had reached Syria with his army. At Antioch the inhabitants, zealous Christians, loudly ridiculed him for his untrimmed beard and shabby clothing and even proceeded to insult. The emperor could punish, but the philosopher contented himself with replying by the *Misopogon*, a satire on their effeminate habits. At the head of 60,000 men he penetrated to Ctesiphon, where he crossed the Tigris and burned his fleet that his soldiers might have no other hope than victory. But misled by traitors and in need of provisions, he was obliged to fall back upon Gordyene to which a vic-

tory opened the road. In a second combat he fell severely wounded, and died conversing with his friends concerning the immortality promised to the just. Only thirty-two years of age, he had sat upon the throne less than twenty-three months (363).

Jovian (363). Valentinian and Valens (364).—The army proclaimed Jovian. By a disgraceful treaty he abandoned to Sapor the supremacy in Armenia and the five provinces beyond the Tigris with many strongholds which served as bulwarks to the empire. He died seven months afterward (364). The generals agreed to proclaim Valentinian, who gave the East to his brother Valens, and established himself at Paris whence he could observe the Germans. He sowed discord among the barbarians, set the Burgundians against the Alemanni and after conquering several of those turbulent tribes rebuilt the fortresses which guarded the passages of the Rhine. In his internal government, he was stern even to cruelty. Death was the punishment for all offences. But he showed himself tolerant in religious affairs. Unfortunately for the empire this valiant chief died in an expedition against the Quadi (375). His son Gratian who succeeded abandoned to his younger brother, Valentinian II, the prefectures of Italy and Illyricum.

In the East Valens less wise had entered into religious quarrels instead of reorganizing the army. A great peril threatened. A horde of Huns, belonging to the Mongol race of Eastern Asia, had crossed the Ural, subjugated the Alani and driven back upon the Danube the Goths, who stretched out supplicating hands to the emperor (375). Valens, whose pride was flattered, forgot his prudence and welcomed this host of 200,000 fighting men. Afterward they rose against him, and Valens near Adrianople experienced a defeat more disastrous than that of Cannæ (378). Barely a third of the Roman army escaped. The wounded emperor perished in a hut to which the barbarians set fire. The whole country was horribly ravaged. Some bands of Saracens, summoned from Asia, saved Constantinople. Those children of the southern deserts found themselves for the first time in hand-to-hand combat with the men of the north whom they were destined to encounter three and a half centuries later at the other extremity of the Mediterranean.

Theodosius (378).—At this very time Gratian was fight-

ing the Alemanni near Colmar, while the empire of the East was without a head. To replace his uncle he chose a skilful general, Theodosius, who reorganized the army and restored the soldiers' courage by affording them the opportunity of fighting petty engagements in which he took care that they should have the advantage. He allowed no fortress to fall into the hands of the enemy and diminished their numbers by provoking desertions. At last without having won a victory he forced the Goths to make a treaty (382). In reality Theodosius gave them what they wished. He established them in Thrace and Mœsia with the duty of defending the passage of the Danube. Forty thousand of their warriors were admitted to the imperial ranks.

In Gaul Gratian had been overthrown by the usurper Maximus (383) who, taking advantage of the Arian troubles in Italy, crossed the Alps and forced Valentinian II to take refuge with Theodosius. This prince brought him back to Italy after a victory over Maximus, who was put to death by his own soldiers in Aquileia. He gave him as his principal minister the Frank Arbogast, who had just freed Gaul from the Germans, but who filled all the civil and military offices with barbarians. After the departure of Theodosius, Valentinian wished delivery from this tutelage, but a few days later he was found strangled in his bed (392).

Arbogast threw the purple over the shoulders of a dependent of his own, the pagan orator Eugenius, and tried to rally to his cause what pagans remained. This imprudent conduct roused the Christians against him. A single battle near Aquileia ended his ephemeral domination. Eugenius was made prisoner and put to death. Arbogast killed himself (394). This time the victor retained his conquest. This victory was also the triumph of orthodoxy. Theodosius forbade under severe penalties the worship of the pagan gods. He forbade the bestowal of honors on heretics, nor could they dispose of their property by will. On the other hand he made wise regulations in the effort to heal some of the evils infesting this moribund society. He honored the last days of the empire by exhibiting upon the throne those virtues which the people had rarely beheld there.

The inhabitants of Thessalonica during a riot had killed the governor and several imperial officers. Theodosius gave orders which cost 7000 persons their lives. This massacre excited a sentiment of horror throughout the em-

pire. When he presented himself some time later at the doors of the cathedral of Milan, Saint Ambrose in the presence of all the people reproached him with his crime and forbade him to enter the church. The emperor accepted the public penance which the saintly bishop thus imposed in the name of God and outraged humanity. At his death he divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius (395). This final partition corresponded with the real state of affairs, for the Adriatic separated two languages and almost two religions. Constantinople, Greek-Orthodox though so often Arian, and Rome, Latin and Catholic, had each desired its own emperor. This separation still exists in the different creeds and civilizations of those two halves of the ancient world.

End of the Western Empire (476).—The barbarians who for four centuries had remained on the defensive were now beginning incessant attacks. Thanks to her situation, Constantinople was almost impregnable to assault. Rome, on the contrary, was speedily captured. The empire of the West writhed for eighty years in a painful death agony, the chief features of which we shall find in the subsequent history of Alaric, Attila and Genseric. Honorius died in 423. His nephew Valentinian III reigned miserably until 455 and perished by assassination. Majorian, worthy of a better epoch, was killed by the Sueve Ricimer who bestowed the crown on three senators in succession. Finally a chieftain of the Heruli, Odoacer, put an end to the Western Empire (476) by deposing the last emperor Romulus Augustus. Proclaimed king of Italy by his barbarians, he assigned them one-third of the territory of the country, and requested at Constantinople the title of patrician, thereby recognizing the rights of the Eastern Emperor as suzerain of the new kingdom.

Summary.—The Roman Empire fell because it had at its origin detestable political principles, and in its latter days a deplorable military organization. Taxes, constantly becoming more burdensome, and a merciless fiscal system alienated the affection of subjects whom the army no longer defended. A new religion, which tended to detach attention from the earth, did not strengthen the devotion for the public cause. Thus the empire was not thrown down headlong by a violent and unexpected blow. It collapsed because it could no longer live.

The Roman people added nothing to the heritage Greece had bequeathed. Nevertheless it also left behind great deeds and great lessons, though belonging to another order of facts and ideas. Its language has been and still in a measure is the bond of the learned world. Its laws have inspired modern legislation. Its military roads, its bridges, its aqueducts, have made men understand the necessity of public works. Its administration has taught how to control multitudes of men. Its government has served as a model to the absolute monarchies which have succeeded the feudal system. Its municipal institutions are the source of our own and could still offer useful examples. Lastly it began the transformation of ancient slavery into serfdom.

The barbaric kings, dazzled at the splendor shed by this dying empire, had at first no other idea than to continue it. Clovis will be a patrician of Rome. Theodoric will count himself the colleague of the emperor of the East. Charlemagne, Otho, Frederick Barbarossa, will call themselves the successors of Constantine. The Christianity of Jerusalem, become Catholicism at Rome, will be the most powerful government of the soul. The spiritual monarchy of the popes will copy and strive to replace the temporal monarchy of the emperors. The intellectual heirs of Ulpian and of Papinian will attach to feudal royalty the powers bestowed upon the Cæsars by the *lex regia*. When those royalties shall all have perished in their turn, Napoleon will assume a Roman title as representative of an idea both new and old, the idea of the protectorate of popular interests exercised at Rome by the tribunes of the people, whose power, *tribunicia potestas*, the emperors had absorbed.

Thus the history of Rome will long remain the training-school of the lawyer and the statesman, even as artists, thinkers and poets will always turn toward Greece.

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